Direct Speech in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

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Direct Speech in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

Narrative and Rhetorical Functions of the Characters' "Varied" and "Many-Faceted" Words

By

Berenice Verhelst

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Contents

Preface IX
Acknowledgements XII

Introduction 1
Variation or Incoherence; Virtue or Vice? 9
1880–1943: The "Problem" of Unity and Structure 10
Since 1964: Advocating the Principle of ποικιλία 13
Direct Speech in the *Dionysiaca* 15
Scholarly Research on Direct Speech in Greek Epic Poetry 18
Homer, Apollonius, Quintus and Nonnus Compared: Statistical Data 24
Objectives and Approaches 31
A Comparative Approach 33
A Narratological Point of View 33
A Rhetorical Model of Analysis 37
On the Structure of This Book 38
Overview of Chapters 1–6 38

PART 1
Epic Speech in Transformation

1 **Imitation and Transformation: From Troy to India and from Medea to Morrheus** 43
1.1 Speeches and Dialogues in the Διὸς ἀπάτη Episode 44
1.1.1 *Hera and Aphrodite* 48
1.1.2 *Hera and Hypnus* 55
1.2 A Speech for a Speech: Apollonius Inverted 63
1.2.1 *Arguing for and against: Aphrodite's Double Role* 63
1.2.2 *From Medea to Morrheus: Torn between Contradictory Feelings* 69
1.3 Nonnus and Quintus (or Libanius): Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους; 74
1.3.1 *What Achilles and Penthesilea Would Have Said* 75
1.4 Speech Composition and Narrative Structures 79

2 Types of Epic Speech: The Battle Exhortation 82
2.1 Defining the Corpus: The Epic and the Historiographical Tradition 84
2.2 Exhortations in Nonnus: Subtypes of the Battle Exhortation 87
2.2.1 *Generals' Exhortations* 88
2.2.2 *Exhortations by Gods* (*in Disguise*) 96
2.2.3 *Other Types of Battle Exhortations* 99
2.2.4 *Tradition and Innovation* 100
2.3 Exhortative Topoi and Recurring Motifs in Nonnus 102
2.3.1 *Δίκαιον* 102
2.3.2 *Συμφέρον/ἐκβησόμενον* 103
2.3.3 *Καλόν* 104
2.3.4 *Δυνατόν* 106
2.3.5 *Particularities of the "Nonnian" Exhortation* 108
2.4 Selected Examples: Untraditional Exhortations in Nonnus 109
2.4.1 *Typhon's Army of Monsters* 109
2.4.2 *Pentheus and Lycurgus as Spurious Generals* 117
2.4.3 *Inverse Exhortations* 124
2.4.4 *Love on the Battlefield* 132
2.5 Epic and Rhetorical Conventions 137

3 Speeches within Speeches 139
3.1 Potential τις-Speech in Nonnus: A Homeric Device Revived 141
3.1.1 *Defining Potential τις-Speech in Nonnus* 146
3.1.2 *Nonnus' Potential τις-Speech and the Literary Tradition* 151
3.1.3 *New Wine in Old Vessels* 163
3.2 More Hypothetical Speeches 168
3.2.1 *First Person Potential Speeches* 168
3.2.2 *Messenger Requests* 170
3.2.3 *Procatalepsis* 172
3.2.4 *Third Person "Desired" Speeches* 174
3.3 Hypothetical Speech, a "Nonnian" Device 177

PART 2
Rhetoric and Narrative

4 The Rhetoric of Deception: Persuasive Strategies 181

4.1 Deceptive Speeches 182

4.1.1 *Defining the Corpus* 183

4.1.2 *Manipulation at Work* 190

4.2 Speaking in Disguise: ἦθος, πάθος and Authority 194

4.3 Hera's Deception of Semele: A Case Study 199

4.3.1 *Phthonus to Hera (and Athena)* 199

4.3.2 *Hera to Apate* 207

4.3.3 *Hera to Semele* 212

4.3.4 *Step by Step: φθόνος and ἀπάτη in the Story of Semele* 217

4.4 True or False? As Long as It is Artful 219

5 Ecphrastic Ethopoeae and the Perspective of the Text-Internal Observer 221

5.1 Suddenly Appearing Characters and Their Speeches 225

5.1.1 *Anonymous Observers* 227

5.1.2 *Mythological Figures* 229

5.1.3 *Divine Observers* 231

5.1.4 *The Voice of the Text-Internal Observer* 232

5.2 Looking through the Text-Internal Observer's Eyes 235

5.2.1 *About Europa* 236

5.2.2 *About Cadmus and Harmonia* 242

5.2.3 *About Semele* 244

5.2.4 *Other Examples of the Same Interpretative Technique* 248

5.2.5 *Ekphrasis, Interpretation and "Cultural Competence" in the Description of Beauty* 256

5.3 Comments from Above 262

5.3.1 *Hera about Europa and Zeus* 262

5.3.2 *Selene about Harmonia and Cadmus* 264

5.3.3 *Semele about Dionysus* 266

5.3.4 *Semele about Ino* 268

5.3.5 *Aphrodite about Morrheus and Chalcomede* 270

5.3.6 *Humour and the Divine Perspective* 271

5.4 A Double Role 272

6 Rhetoric of Seduction and Failure of Communication in the Beroe Episode 274

6.1 Amatory Rhetoric: The Case of the παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι 274

6.2 Beirut and Beroe 277

6.3 Dionysus and Poseidon Courting Beroe: A Series of Amorous Approaches 279

6.3.1 *Dionysus to Beroe* (*1*) 279

6.3.2 *Dionysus to Beroe* (*2*) 280

6.3.3 *Dionysus to Beroe* (*3*) 283

6.3.4 *Dionysus to Beroe* (*4*) 284

6.3.5 *Poseidon to Beroe* 288

6.4 Fruitless Metaphors and Arguments Unheard 289

Conclusion 292

One More Speech: Aura's Last Words 292

Οὔ πω μῦθος ἔληγε: General Observations on Direct Speech in Nonnus 295

Appendix 301

Summary of the *Dionysiaca* 301

Books 1–8: A Lengthy Prequel to the Story of Dionysus 301

Books 9–12: Dionysus' Childhood and Youth 302

Books 13–24: The Expedition to India 302

Books 25–40.297: The War in India 304

Books 40.298–248: The Way Back Home 306

Bibliography 308

General Index 326

Index Locorum 328

Preface

> ‘And what is the use of a book,’ thought Alice, ‘without pictures or conversations?’
>
> LEWIS CARROLL, *Alice in Wonderland*

Whether or not we should agree with young Alice Liddell’s judgement that literature is only worth reading if it is illustrated or contains dialogue, the words spoken by characters—like those of Alice—are often those best remembered and most quoted. This book presents a study of direct speech in the *Dionysiaca*, the magnum opus of the Greek epic poet Nonnus of Panopolis. With its 48 books (more than 21,000 lines), Nonnus’ *Dionysiaca* is the longest surviving ancient Greek poem. Written in the mid-5th century AD it can be seen as the last bastion of the Greek mythological epic tradition.

The story of the poem’s modern reception reads as a paradox. It was long criticized for its lack of originality as the *Dionysiaca* is notorious for its many passages in imitation of a wide range of authors of the Greek literary tradition. But simultaneously, also its un-traditional style and un-classical lack of structural unity were the subject of much criticism. The exponential growth of Nonnus studies in recent decades has now caused a reappraisal of his poetry in scholarly circles, but how to understand the interaction between the classical and un-classical aspects (whether regarded as innovative or characteristically late antique) of his poetry remains an important question. I hope to shed new light on this discussion by focussing on one of the aspects in which this interaction is most prominent: the varied and many-faceted (ποικίλος or ποικιλόμυθος) “speeches” by the characters of the *Dionysiaca*.

A first time reader of Nonnus familiar with Homer will be surprised by the long monologues of his characters and the almost total lack of dialogue in the poem. In no other Greek epic poem do so many different characters raise their voices. A respectable number of them seem to be introduced with the sole purpose of pronouncing a soliloquy, before disappearing again. With his 35.6% speech ratio, Nonnus, at first sight, is closer to the famous Homeric balance of speech and narrator text (*Iliad* 45%, *Odyssey* 67.7%) than his other Greek epic predecessors Apollonius of Rhodes (29.4%) and Quintus of Smyrna (23.6%). This relatively high percentage, however, is the result of the great length of Nonnus’ fewer, but more rhetorically elaborated passages of direct speech. The prevalence in the *Dionysiaca* of monologues over dialogues seems to characterize it as an epic in which the action is not so much driven forward by the conversations between the characters, but rather delayed each time the narrator allows a character to speak his/her mind.

Defined by Martin String (1966, 6) as "einer der auffälligsten Unterschiede dieses Werkes von der früheren, ja von aller anderen griechischen Epik", the use of direct speech in the *Dionysiaca* is a subject of particular interest. As was long ago noticed by Albert Wifstrand (1933, 141–154), the stylistic properties of Nonnus' character text stand out against the narrator text: in Nonnus, direct speech characteristically consists of short, asyndetically connected sentences, series of apostrophes and emotional exclamations and is wrought with rhetorical figures hunting for effect, such as sharp antitheses, eye-catching anaphors and clever word play. And yet this fascinating subject has received relatively little scholarly attention.

This book consists of two parts, preceded by a general introduction. Its structure reflects the double focus of my research. On the one hand, I have tried to lay bare the constant interplay in the *Dionysiaca* between the epic tradition and the late antique literary context with its clear rhetorical stamp. This I primarily do in part one, by comparing and contrasting Nonnus' use of direct speech to that of his epic predecessors. Parallels in rhetorical theory and practice are used in this part to put these differences into context and individual speeches are analysed according to rhetorical models in order to reveal the structure of the argumentation. On the other hand, the clear quantitative differences in the use of direct speech between Nonnus and his epic predecessors also raise questions concerning the functions of speech in the narrative structure of Nonnus' epic poetry. In part two of this book, the central focus lies on the implications of these differences for the presentation of the story and how it was perceived by Nonnus' contemporary audience.

Because of the vast proportions of the subject (there are 305 instances of direct speech in the *Dionysiaca*, all together 7,573 lines), I have chosen to work with case studies, which allowed me to pick a representative number of examples, and—according to the subject of the chapter in which they are used as an example—to approach them each time from a different angle.

When quoting from the *Dionysiaca*, I use the Greek text of the Budé edition (Vian et al. 1976–2006) but the English translation is taken from W.H.D. Rouse (1940, Loeb edition). Rouse's translation is adapted to the Budé edition whenever a different textual variant or a different interpretation of the Greek text causes an actual difference in meaning between the two editions. A summary of the *Dionysiaca* is also added in the appendix.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations for ancient authors and texts, and modern journals and reference works follow the standards of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (sole exception: D. for *Dionysiaca*) and (for journals) *L'Année Philologique*.

Acknowledgements

Behind every book there is a story—a long road to Olympus. Along the road, many voices are heard and many characters have their influence on the story. This book started in 2010 as a PhD research project. As a predoctoral fellow of the Research Foundation Flanders I felt very privileged to be able to spend four years almost exclusively in Nonnus' *mare magnum*: the *Dionysiaca*, a rich and densely populated world full of Bacchants, Nymphs and Satyrs. Thus, I became part of the rich and densely populated world of Nonnus scholarship, which today is going, as I think we may say, through an unprecedented period of bloom and provides a stimulating intellectual environment to work in.

I first and foremost want to thank Kristoffel Demoen, under whose excellent supervision I completed my doctoral research in 2014. His kind guidance, critical remarks and stimulating suggestions have been (and still are) invaluable to me. I also owe great thanks to Gianfranco Agosti, Irene de Jong, Koen de Temmerman, Laura Miguélez Cavero and Mary Whitby, who critically evaluated my dissertation and afterwards passed me their notes on my work, which allowed me to refine my arguments and correct many mistakes. I also especially want to thank Tessel Jonquière, Jennifer Pavelko, the anonymous reviewer and the editors of Brill's Late Antique Literature series for their assistance and advice during the final stages of preparing this book for publication.

When I think of all the people with whom I have discussed my research, who have given me valuable feedback after paper presentations during workshops and conferences, who gave me ideas during stimulating conversations, with whom I shared my doubts, who listened to me and supported me, I realise that I can impossibly mention everyone to personally express my gratitude. I thank my dear colleagues, family, friends and my devoted husband for their lasting support.

Introduction

Virtually nothing is known about Nonnus of Panopolis, to whom the manuscript tradition attributes both a mythological epic poem, the *Dionysiaca* (48 books, 21,286 lines[1]), and a biblical paraphrase in hexameters, the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* (3,640 lines).[2] The contrast in the subject matter between the two poems could not be greater, the one celebrating a pagan god and the other the Christian Saviour. In the past, this contrast engendered much discussion on his authorship of both works, which—once accepted[3]—seemed to suggest either a conversion to or an apostasy from Christianity in the course of his life, depending on the relative chronology of the poems;[4] a question which even

1 This number of lines corresponds with Vian et al.'s (1976–2006) edition of the text. Fornaro (2000, 995) counts 21,382 lines but includes the dedicatory distichs to each books (96 lines in total), which most probably are later additions. Vian (1976, LVIII) suggests them to be by the hand of the first editor of the poem (contra: Zuenelli 2016b). Elderkin (1906, 6) counted 21,279 lines. The division into books in the case of the *Dionysiaca* is, in contrast to the division of the *Paraphrase* into 21 "canti" (analogous to the medieval division of the Bible into chapters), clearly part of its original composition.

2 Nonnus is already mentioned as the author of the *Dionysiaca* in the oldest manuscript (P. 10567 = Π, papyrus of Berlin, 6th AD), which at the start of book 15 reads αρχη τ[ου] ιε ποιηματος των διονυσιακων νοννο[υ] ποιητου πανοπολιτου. He is also mentioned in the lost manuscript "A" (manuscript title: Νόννου ποιητοῦ Διονυσιακά), witnessed by Cyriacus of Ancona, who saw it in 1444 in the Lavra monastery in Athos. Apart from the evidence from the manuscript tradition, he is also mentioned as the author of the *Dionysiaca* by the historian Agathias (6th AD, *Hist.* 4.23.5) and in a book epigram in the *Anth. Pal.* (9.198). The *Paraphrase* is attributed to Nonnus in manuscripts from the 13th century (Paris. Gr. 1220) onwards, and the lemma on νόνναι in the Souda also seems to confirm his authorship. See Collart 1930, 1–15, Golega 1930, 5–8, Vian 1976, XI and LVI–LXI and Accorinti 2016b, 16–23.

3 His authorship of both poems was convincingly established by Golega (1930, 8–62) in an impressive study of Nonnus' style and metrical rules. See also Vian 1976, XI: "le style et la métrique de la *Paraphrase* portent indiscutablement la marque de Nonnos".

4 Collart (1930, 273), Keydell (1932, 202 and 1936, 911) and Bogner (1934) were convinced that the *Dionysiaca* was written by a pagan Nonnus, who then abandoned the project in its unfinished state after his conversion to Christianity. The reverse (a reverse chronology and an apostasy from Christianity) was suggested by Stegemann (1930, 209 n. 1) and Dostálova-Jeništova (1957a, 35, cf. Rémondon 1952, 69 on the phenomenon of apostasy), while others like Golega (1930, 79–88) argued that the *Dionysiaca* could be written by a Christian poet. Vian 1976, XIV–XV concludes: "En l'absence d'éléments décisifs, on ne se risquera pas à proposer une chronologie relative des deux œuvres. Quant au problème de la conversion ou, éventuellement, de l'apostasie de Nonnos, ce n'est peut-être qu'un faux dilemme et l'on se rangera

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inspired a 19th century British novelist, Richard Garnett, to write a fantastic short story on the topic.[5]

The consensus today, however, is that no conversion is needed to explain the difference between the two poems, which both have to be placed in the context of the Christianized world of Late Antiquity and most probably also appealed to the same audience of *literati*.[6] The complex web of parallels between the two, as recently brought to our attention by the work of Robert Shorrock and of Konstantinos Spanoudakis,[7] even seems to problematize the assumption that one was written prior to the other.[8] If not caused by a simultaneous creation process,[9] then at least the reader (contemporary and modern), who reads both works regardless of their date of publication, will find echoes of the one poem in the other. Therefore, Shorrock (2011, 52–53) argues that it is legitimate to speak of a "mutual intertextuality" between the poems—if, at least, a reader-oriented approach is adopted.

plutôt à l'opinion prudente de J. Golega. Dans l'Alexandrie du ve siècle, paganisme et christianisme coexistent et s'interpénètrent. La plupart des chrétiens reçoivent leur formation dans des écoles dont les maîtres restent traditionnellement fidèles au paganisme; ils sont nourris de culture classique et de mythologie; ils connaissent la magie et l'astrologie, et parfois même, y croient encore. Dans un tel milieu, le chrétien Nonnos ne devait éprouver aucune gêne à composer une épopée mythologique qui est sans doute à la gloire de Dionysos, mais qu'il serait risqué de regarder comme une œuvre de propagande païenne." See also most recently Dijkstra 2016.

5 In the short story *The poet of Panopolis* (1888), Apollo hears of Nonnus' opportunist conversion to Christianity and undertakes action to prevent him from becoming the Bishop of Panopolis.

6 Cf. Agosti 2014, 162 who states that both poems are "part of a unique cultural and ideological project". Regarding the intended audience of Nonnus' *Paraphrase*, it has been argued that he probably aimed at a mixed audience of educated pagans and Christians. Livrea (1987, 109) has underlined the *Paraphrase*'s evangelizing function for an educated pagan audience, for whom the unadorned language of the original Gospel ("lo stile ἁλιευτικῶς") must have been repulsive. On the other hand, he also considers the possibility of a Christian elite as audience, for whom the poem must have agreeably united two aspects of their cultural background. Agosti (2003, 95–102) mentions both groups in inverse order of importance. He puts emphasis on the many references to Christian liturgy in the poem, which would have been impossible to grasp for a pagan audience.

7 Shorrock 2008, 2011 and 2016 and Spanoudakis 2007, 2013, 2014b and 2016. Also in Doroszewski 2014.

8 Juxtaposing the arguments for the priority of the *Dionysiaca* with those for the priority of the *Paraphrase*, Shorrock concludes (2011, 51): "What if Nonnus wrote the two texts contemporaneously?"

9 See Livrea 1987, 102–110, 1989, 23–30 and 2000, 39–53 for arguments in favour of the hypothesis that Nonnus worked simultaneously on both poems.

The dating of the poetic work of Nonnus is, moreover, not precise enough to draw any conclusions on this matter. By consensus he is situated in the mid-5th century AD, which can only be determined by taking into account the literary and factual *termini post* and *ante quem* of his poems. Important literary *termini ante quem* are the poets of the so-called "school of Nonnus",[10] who bear clear marks of his poetic influence in metre, language and style.[11] The well-documented history of the religious developments of the period, on the other hand, helps to determine *termini post quem* for the *Paraphrase*, because its interpretation of the Gospel appears to reflect the influence of the Council of Ephesus (431), and the *Commentary on John's Gospel* by Cyril of Alexandria (425–428).[12]

Finally, the only biographical information we do possess refers to Nonnus' place of origin, the Egyptian city of Panopolis, now called Akhmim. As demonstrated by Laura Miguélez Cavero (2008), Panopolis and the broader area of the Thebaid were in this period host to much poetic activity.[13] The sixth century historian Agathias refers to Nonnus as Νόννος, ὁ ἐκ τῆς Πανὸς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας γεγε-

10 Pamprepius seems to be Nonnus' oldest "pupil" and is known to have been involved in a pagan revolt in 483–484. Other poets under his influence (Musaeus, Colluthus, Christodorus) are known to have been active under emperor Anastasius (491–518). On the other hand, Nonnus seems to quote a poem by Cyrus of Panopolis (composed in 441–442). Vian concludes that the *Dionysiaca* is probably written between 450 and 470 (and "plutôt sans doute vers la fin de cette période"). The history of the school of law in Beirut, referred to in book 41, provides more clues pointing in the same direction. A *terminus post quem* is the title of τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλοι given to the teachers of the school in 449–450 (cf. *D.* 41.395–398) and a *terminus ante quem* the end of the school after the destruction of the city by an earthquake in 551. For an overview of all possible *termini post* and *ante quem*, see Vian 1976, XV–XVI, Miguélez Cavero 2008, 17–18 and Accorinti 2016b, 28–32.

11 By putting the poetry of Nonnus and the "Nonnians" in a broader perspective, Miguélez Cavero (2008) has convincingly argued against the term "school of Nonnus", which suggests a real master-and-pupil relationship between the poets. She states that school education is the most important factor to explain the unity in style of the Egyptian poets of the period (more on this below), but also acknowledges the influence of the work of Nonnus on later authors. They can, however, only literarily (and not literally) be called his pupils.

12 See Golega 1930, 110–111, Vian 1976, XVI, Livrea 1987, 444–445 and Miguélez Cavero 2008, 18.

13 To illustrate this, scholars often quote Eunapius' (4th–5th AD) remarkable statement on "the Egyptians" (*Vita Soph.* X, 7, 12): ἐπεὶ τά γε κατὰ ῥητορικὴν ἐξαρκεῖ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἦν Αἰγύπτιος. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ μὲν σφόδρα μαίνονται. "For this race passionately loves the poetic arts, whereas the Hermes who inspires serious study has departed from them" (transl. Wright 1921). See Miguélez Cavero 2008, 85–88 for the interpretation of this line in its broader context.

νημένος and also the *Dionysiaca* itself contains references to Nonnus' Egyptian background.[14] Nonnus refers to the Nile as ἐμοῦ Νείλοιο (*D.* 26.237) and claims to be writing his poem in the vicinity of the island of Pharos (*D.* 1.13: Φάρῳ παρὰ γείτονι νήσῳ), which can be read as a reference to the city of Alexandria. It seems not unlikely that he lived and studied in this city of literary repute.[15] The name "Nonnus" is, on the other hand, not Egyptian in origin. It was a common name in the Eastern Roman empire, especially in Christian families of Syriac origin. In combination with Nonnus' apparent interest in Beirut (*D.* 40–43, see also chapter 6), his name has, therefore, also been a cue for speculations of a possible Syriac background.[16] Enrico Livrea (1987, 2000 and 2003) even raised the hypothesis of identifying Nonnus as a specific historical "Nonnus", the bishop of Edessa, who participated in the council of Chalcedon.[17] I will not further expand upon this matter.

What is of more interest here is the literary context of Nonnus' poetry and the literary tradition with which he enters into competition. This attitude is made explicit by the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* in the poem's second prologue, where he claims to relate the adventures of Dionysus "in rivalry with both new and old" (*D.* 25.27: νέοισι καὶ ἀρχεγόνοισιν ἐρίζων).[18] Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is not merely the last true representative of the Greek epic tradition (his followers confined themselves to the smaller epyllion genre)—the poem also seems to self-consciously present itself as the culmination point of this tradition. Nonnus' most important model, whom he most explicitly tries to surpass, is Homer, who is mentioned by name no less than six times.[19] Dionysus, as the

14 See also Chuvin 1986 and Gigli Piccardi 1998a and b on the Egyptian context in the *Dionysiaca*.

15 See Hopkinson 1994b, 33 and Miguélez Cavero 2008, 16. The reference to Pharos, however, also serves to introduce Proteus (already appearing on Pharos in the *Odyssey*) as a symbol of the concept of ποικιλία in the programmatic prologue of the *Dionysiaca* (see also Gigli Piccardi 1993; I will further elaborate on the concept of ποικιλία below). The reference to Alexandria, on the other hand, can also be interpreted as a tribute to the literary tradition Nonnus is inscribing himself in, and thus does not necessarily have to refer to the location of his actual writing activities.

16 See Braune 1948, 191–192, Dostálova-Jeništova 1957a, 31–35, Livrea 1987, 98 and Chuvin 1991, 196–224.

17 Contra: Cameron 2000.

18 On this line and the question of the claim of novelty in Nonnus' poetry, see also Miguélez Cavero 2013b.

19 These references are concentrated in the programmatic prologues (*D.* 1.37, *D.* 25.8 and *D.* 25.253–270). The remaining three references serve to underline his imitation of Homer

narrator of the *Dionysiaca* claims, is a subject even better suited for epic treatment than Achilles and Hector.[20] Aeacus, when he is massacring the enemy with "unbending grudge" (*D.* 22.378: ἀκαμπέα μῆνιν) in the river Hydaspes, is explicitly compared with his grandson Achilles.[21] The 48 books of the *Dionysiaca*, consisting of both travel narrative (14–21: journey to India, and 40–48: νόστος) and war narrative (13–40: Indian War), moreover, naturally invite comparison with *Iliad* (24) "plus" *Odyssey* (24).[22]

Nonnus' constant engagement with Homer, however, does not make of him a faithful imitator. Not only is the style and language very different; the story is also organized in a different way, giving Nonnus' narrative a rather un-Homeric feel. The more or less objective narrator of the Homeric epics is, for example, replaced by a clearly partisan narrator, who introduces himself as a fervent

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in iconically traditional scenes like the catalogue of troops (*D.* 13.50) or the *aristeia* of the Indian king Deriades (*D.* 32.184). In *D.* 42.181, Nonnus even explicitly corrects Homer by stating that there is no κόρος (satiety) of love (contrary to Menelaos' claim in *Il.* 13.636–639). This final example possibly shows a novelistic influence as a very similar correction of the same passage in Homer can be found in Heliodorus' *Aeth.* 4.4.3 (Frangoulis 2014, 109). See also Hopkinson 1994b, 12: "Although epic poets ceaselessly adapt and vary Homer, their depersonalised and distanced narrative stance seems to have avoided mentioning him by name. Other genres were less reticent. In the extant lyrics of Pindar, for example, we find half-a-dozen references to Homer. […] explicit reference to the poetry of Homer is necessary for Nonnus' definition of his attitude to past epic."

20 See *D.* 25.257–260: ὑμνήσειν μὲν ὄφελλε τόσον καὶ τοῖον ἀγῶνα | Μοῦσα τεὴ καὶ Βάκχον ἀκοντιστῆρα Γιγάντων, | ἄλλοις δ' ὑμνοπόλοισι πόνους Ἀχιλῆος ἐάσσαι, | εἰ μὴ τοῦτο Θέτις γέρας ἥρπασεν. "Your [i.e. Homer's] muse ought to have hymned so great and mighty a struggle, how Bacchos brought low the Giants, and ought to have left the labours of Achilles to other bards, had not Thetis stolen that glory from you." Or rather: "if Thetis had not claimed this privilege."

21 See *D.* 22.387–389: οἷα προθεσπίζων ποταμοῦ παρὰ χεῦμα Καμάνδρου | φύλοπιν ἡμιτέλεστον ἐπεσσομένην Ἀχιλῆι· | καὶ μόθον υἱωνοῖο μόθος μαντεύσατο πάππου. "As if to foretell the unfinished battle for Achilles in time to come at the river Camandros: the grand-father's battle prophesied the grandson's conflict." Nonnus' choice of writing about a generation of heroes, exactly two generations older than the heroes in Homer, and thus of going one step further back in time than Apollonius did, is certainly not a coincidence. It enables the Nonnian narrator to exploit the paradox of the anteriority of Homer and Apollonius to Nonnus *vis à vis* the posteriority of the Trojan War and the journey of the Argonauts to the story of Dionysus. See also chapter 1.

22 On Nonnus as an imitator and challenger of Homer, see esp. Vian 1991, Hopkinson 1994b, Frangoulis 1995 and 2011, Shorrock 2001, De Stefani 2011, Verhelst 2013 and Bannert and Kröll 2016.

supporter of Dionysus.[23] The unity of action in Homer, famously praised by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1451a), is entirely absent from the *Dionysiaca*, which could best be described as an episodic narrative,[24] telling the story of one central hero, Dionysus, from two generations before his birth (books 1–8) until his apotheosis (48.974–978). The many shifts and turns in the plot and sub-plots (of a narrative "à tiroirs") have often been connected to the genre of the Greek novel, with which Nonnus also has clear affinities, especially with Achilles Tatius.[25]

Nonnus, in fact, alludes to and uses a very broad spectrum of the (Greek)[26] literary tradition.[27] His epic poem includes passages reminding us of the

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23 See esp. *D.* 25.264–270. On the question of the objectivity/impartiality of the Homeric narrator, see de Jong 1987, 2004 and 2006. On the overt partiality of the Nonnian narrator, see Geisz 2013, 22–25 and 118–122. Also Vian 1991, 474 and Kuhlmann 1999, 392–393.

24 See for example Vian 1995, 19 and Miguélez Cavero 2008, 269. On Nonnus and the principle of unity of Aristotle, see D'Ippolito 1964, 6 and Abel-Wilmanns 1977, 54–59. On the digressive nature of the narrative of the *Dionysiaca* see Geisz 2016.

25 See Vian 1976, XLIX: "Les affinités entre les *Dionysiaques* et le roman de *Leukippé et Clitophon* sont si manifestes qu'on a longtemps cherché à dater Achille Tatios par rapport à Nonnos; les découvertes papyrologiques ont obligé à 'remonter' le romancier jusqu'au IIe siècle; mais l'influence qu'il a exercée sur Nonnos demeure incontestable." On Nonnus and his affinities with the genre of the novel, see also Dostálova-Jeništova 1961, Gigli Piccardi 1978, Villarrubia 1999, Fayant 2003, Frangoulis 2006b, 2009 and 2014, Giraudet 2011 and 2012 and Miguélez Cavero 2016.

26 It is a much-discussed question whether or not Nonnus also read and used Latin authors, especially Ovid whose *Metamorphoses* have many characteristics and stories in common with the *Dionysiaca*. Because of the lack of substantial parallels and the possibility of (lost) common sources, it has proven quite impossible to give a definitive answer. See Braune 1935, D'Ippolito 1964 and 1991, 69–85, Vian 1976, XLVI–XLVII, Schulze 1985, Knox 1988 and most recently Paschalis 2014.

27 Vian 1976, XLI–L mentions Nonnus' immediate epic precursors on the topic of Dionysus (esp. the fragmentary *Dionysus* by Euphorion and *Bassarica* by Dionysius), but also Hesiod, Euripides, Apollonius, Quintus, Pisander, Theocritus, Callimachus, Moschus, Parthenius, Aratus, Nicander, the Oppians, Eratosthenes and Euphorion. More names could be mentioned as, to use Vian's own words (1976, XLVII), "Nonnos ne s'est pas borné à utiliser ce qu'on pourrait nommer la 'grande littérature'." Vian furthermore draws attention to Nonnus' use of mythological handbooks (see also Vian 1978), works of local history (also πάτρια) and the like. Maciver (2016), however, makes an important point when he emphasizes that Nonnus is much less overt in his engagement with his "later" models. Maciver 2016, 530: "Nonnus may allude, for example to Oppian, but such allusion is tucked hidden away within overt Homeric engagement. If someone without intimate knowledge of Imperial Greek poetry were to pick up Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, they could, with reason, assume that Nonnus had not read any of them."

bucolic, epigrammatic, novelistic, comic and tragic genres.[28] Apart from Homer, Pindar also has a prominent position among Nonnus' models. He is mentioned by name only once, in the second prologue (*D.* 25.21) in connection with Dionysus' home city of Thebes, but is also alluded to in the first prologue. The phrase ὅτι ποικίλον ὕμνον ἀράσσω (*D.* 1.15) is often read as a programmatic claim, foregrounding ποικιλία or "variety (of colour)" as a principle of composition.[29] Ποικίλον ὕμνον seems taken from Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 6 (line 87) where it is similarly used with reference to the author's poetic art.[30] After Pindar, ποικιλία entered the discourse of ancient literary theory as the stylistic principle of variation (cf. Plato and, in a more positive sense, Isocrates).[31]

Because of this marked engagement with the literary past in the *Dionysiaca*, the contemporary literary context has received much less attention. The clear stylistic and structural differences between Nonnus and his epic predecessors, however, can to a large extent be explained and understood only in this contemporary context, by situating his poetry in a broader chain of stylistic evolutions. Often cited in this respect is the article by Mary Whitby (1994), who resumes the thread of Albert Wifstrand's (1933) observations on the metrical and stylistic evolutions "von Kallimachos zu Nonnos". She discusses a number of imperial Greek poets (Oppian, Ps-Oppian, Quintus, Triphiodorus, etc.) as Nonnus' stylis-

28 On the inclusion of elements from other genres in Nonnus' epic, see Collart 1913, González Senmarti 1981, Harries 1994 and 2006 and Lasek 2009 and 2016. Cf. also Hollis 1994, 46: "In this respect as in many others, the *Dionysiaca* is a counterpart to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which, as well as epic, encompasses the genres of tragedy, comedy, didactic, philosophy, epyllion, pastoral and love elegy. Nonnus indeed seems to take a special delight in genres which are particularly far removed from the normal territory of epic verse."

29 Ποικιλία (most often referred to in the meaning of "variation") on all levels of composition of the *Dionysiaca* has been the subject of much scholarly research. A few examples: lexical ποικιλία (Miguélez Cavero 2008, 139–143), stylistic ποικιλία (String 1966 and Faber 2004), generic ποικιλία (González Senmarti 1981 and Lasek 2016), structural ποικιλία (Braden 1974, Fauth 1981, Giraudet 2005, 2010, Hernández de la Fuente 2008 and Geisz 2016), ecphrastic ποικιλία (Faber 2016) and ποικιλία in the characterization of Hermes and Dionysus (Fayant 1998 and Frangoulis 2000).

30 See Vian 1976, IX, González Senmarti 1981, 106, Hopkinson 1994b, 13 and on Pindar's metapoetical language also Nünlist 1998. Vian 1976, XLV: "Nonnos se réclame aussi de Pindare (25.21); mais à part quelques emprunts, il se contente de reproduire la brusquerie de ses transitions et s'autorise de son 'beau désordre' pour s'abandonner à sa propre fantaisie."

31 For an overview of the conception of "unity" and "variation" in ancient poetical discourse, see Heath 1989.

tic forerunners, to conclude that Nonnus "did not spring fully armed into an unsuspecting universe", but also that none of the forerunners combined all the features of his unique style (Whitby 1994, 122).

An important aspect of this literary context is contemporary literary and rhetorical education, both as part of the shared cultural background of Nonnus and his audience and as an important factor of influence on the poetical composition of this period. In her book *Poems in Context: Greek poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD*, Laura Miguélez Cavero considers not only the poets transmitted to us through the manuscript tradition, but virtually every single trace of poetic activity (names, titles, fragments) we still have from the period. She discusses the relation between the Egyptian poets as a group and states that school education is a very important factor and probably the best explanation for their stylistic common ground.[32] She convincingly demonstrates the influence of the rhetorical progymnasmata (exercises in narration (διήγημα), ekphrasis, paraphrase, ethopoea and encomium) on the poetic production of this region and period.[33]

The *Dionysiaca* is very learned poetry, which must have been intended for a select audience of πεπαιδευμένοι,[34] who could not only understand the many literary and mythological allusions but also appreciate the learned vocabulary,[35] the baroque density of the poetic language[36] and the impeccable hexameters, following the strict "Nonnian" metrical rules.[37] The question of how this audience was reached is more difficult to answer. Were episodes read out to a listening audience during literary meetings in Alexandrian auditoria, as is argued by Gianfranco Agosti (2006b)? Because of the length and complex structure

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32 On the schoolish rhetorical background and poetic professionalism of the Egyptian poets, see also Cameron's famous article "Wandering Poets" (1965) and more recently Hose's *Poesie aus der Schule* (2004).

33 See also Agosti 2005 on ethopoeae in late antique poetry, both as an independent genre and embedded in larger poetic works, and Miguélez Cavero 2010 on ψόγος (invective) as the counterpart of encomium in the *Dionysiaca*.

34 On the contemporary audience, see also Agosti 2004, 16–17: "quel pubblico di pagani e di cristiani, educati nell'antica *paideia* e capaci di apprezzare l'affascinante musica dei versi di Nonno, la sua riscrittura della storia di Dioniso e il suo progetto sincretistico di 'lettura' della polimorfia divina."

35 See esp. String 1966, Espinar Ojeda 2003 and Miguélez Cavero 2008, 121–161.

36 See (among others) Whitby 1994, Schmiel 1998, Miguélez Cavero 2008, 161–180 and Agosti 2009.

37 See esp. Wifstrand 1933 and Magnelli 2014. Nonnus' very strict metrical rules, according to which there are only eight different possible combinations of dactyls and spondees, are well summarized in Vian 1976, L–LV, Agosti 2004, 32–44 and most recently Magnelli 2016.

of the work, it is difficult for us—readers—to imagine the level of concentration required from even a trained listener to be able to grasp all the poem's subtleties. Unfortunately, we possess very little information about the performative aspects of the literary life. Some literary witnesses, such as Claudian's proem to his Greek Gigantomachy, allow us, at least, to form a certain image of it,[38] but many incertainties and questions remain. The references to the recipient of Nonnus' poetry in this book as "the reader" or conversely "the audience" should therefore not be read as statements in this discussion.

Variation or Incoherence; Virtue or Vice?

The question of performance is only one of the many aspects of the contemporary context that have been foregrounded in recent research on Nonnus' poetry. Aiming to study both poems as much as possible on their own terms, scholars working on Nonnus have in the past decade paid increasing attention to the late antique religious, cultural and educational context.[39] This new focus on the contemporary context, of which the title of the now biennially organized "Nonnus of Panopolis in Context" conferences is a clear signal, has not only led to important new insights into his poetry but has also provided new arguments with which to challenge the persistent prejudices against his poems. These prejudices can, indeed, to a large extent be explained as the result of the fact that classically educated scholars have long been using only "classical" criteria to judge the qualities of Nonnus' distinctively late antique poetic composition.[40] For a long time, the *Dionysiaca* was commonly considered "a long and very dull poem" (Rose 1958^{6}, 156; still in Hard's (2008) reworked

38 See Agosti 2004, 7–44 and 2006b.

39 See esp. Whitby 1994, Agosti 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008 and Miguélez Cavero 2008 on the literary context and educational background and Chuvin 1986, 2014, Spanoudakis 2007, 2013, 2014b, García-Gasco (Villarrubia) 2007, 2010, 2011, 2014, Hernández de la Fuente 2008, 2011b, 2014, Gigli Piccardi 2009, 2012, Shorrock 2008, 2011, 2016, Agosti 2013, Bernabé and García Gasco 2016 and Lightfoot 2016 on the religious and philosophical or mystic context of the *Dionysiaca*. A multiperspective overview, situating Nonnus in "late antique society" is provided in Agosti 2016.

40 Abel-Wilmanns (1977, 54–99) argued that it is important when comparing the *Dionysiaca* to earlier epic poetry, especially Homer, not to impose the same "ästhetische Maßstäbe" for structure and style to both. She was one of the first scholars to emphasize the importance of acknowledging the differences and interpreting the epic poem in its late antique context.

version), monotonous because of the extreme regularity of the Nonnian hexameter, chaotically structured and not very original in its treatment of the mythological stories, but highly dependent on its sources. Often cited is also the harsh judgement by John Hainsworth (1991, 9), who claimed that survival in the manuscript tradition is no “guide to quality” and mentioned the *Dionysiaca* (alongside Quintus’ *Posthomerica*, Silius’ *Punica* and Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica*) as an epic poem the loss of which “would be no great cause for lamentation”.[41] That Nonnus did not altogether fall into disfavour could perhaps be ascribed to the more positive judgements of highly influential scholars such as Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1907, 220), who called Nonnus “der letzte Stilkünstler der Hellenen”, and Karl Krumbacher, who mentioned him as (1897, 10) “der begabteste und einflußreichste Dichter in den Jahrhunderten nach Konstantin”.

Studies on the *Dionysiaca* that approached the work from a literary point of view have since the late 19th century mainly focussed on the “problem” of the poem’s structure. Mythological parallels or seemingly unimportant secondary plotlines are in the *Dionysiaca* freely elaborated upon, whereas major events in the main storyline, such as the final apotheosis of Dionysus in 48.974–978, are often treated but briefly. In order to be able to define my own position within the broader context of Nonnus scholarship, it is important to first outline the discussion on the poem’s problematized structural unity in some more detail.

1880–1943: The “Problem” of Unity and Structure

The first scholar to problematize the structural composition of the *Dionysiaca* was August Scheindler (1880). He saw a contrast between the accuracy of Nonnus’ metre and the overall composition of the epic poem, which he considered “durchaus mangelhaft”. According to him, several episodes are inserted “ohne Noth” and even “ohne passende Verbindung” (1880, 33). He was also the first scholar to search for an explanation in the writing process, which he interpreted as a gradual process in which Nonnus composed the episodes one after another but never revised the whole.

41 One of the most strikingly negative judgements about Nonnus that has been recorded is that pronounced by H.R. Trevor-Roper in his Valedictory Lecture (1980, Oxford University): “It was in my second year at Oxford, when I was reading the inexpressibly tedious Greek epic poem of Nonnus, that I decided to change my subject from classics to history. By now, I said to myself, I had read all classical literature worth reading, and much that was not. Why scrape the bottom of the barrel? Nonnus, it seemed to me, was very near the bottom” (quoted in Selzer 1995, 1).

In the first half of the 20th century, the discussion raised by Scheindler was picked up by several scholars, especially around 1930, when Nonnus studies went through a first period of bloom. Not only do the important contributions by Joseph Golega (1930, on the *Paraphrase*) and Albert Wifstrand (1933, on Nonnus' style and metre) date from this period, but also the monographs by Paul Collart (1930) and Viktor Stegemann (1930) and a number of influential articles by Rudolf Keydell (1927, 1932, 1936). Keydell describes the *Dionysiaca* quite strikingly as a mosaic in which the bigger picture is concealed by the intensity of colour of the individual stones (Keydell 1936, 910):[42]

> Die Ereignisse des langen Gedichtes rollen zwar in buntem Wechsel, aber ohne klare Beziehung von Ursache und Wirkung, von Spiel und Gegenspiel wie auf einer Fläche vor uns ab; was sich von seinen Schlachtschilderungen sagen läßt, daß sie aus Mosaikstückchen zusammengesetzt sind, das gilt im großen von dem ganzen Epos. Die tragende Idee des Ganzen, daß nämlich Dionysos sich durch seine Taten den Himmel erwerben muß, ist durch die Überfülle des Stoffes so verdeckt, daß sie dem Leser kaum zum Bewußtsein kommt. Das Ziel des Dichters ist nicht der Zusammenhang des Ganzen, sondern die Wirkung des Einzelnen, nicht Klarheit der Linie sondern Intensität der Farbe.

Keydell's and Collart's interpretations of the structure of the *Dionysiaca* are much along the same lines as Scheindler's, for they both adopt the premise that Nonnus left his work in a highly unfinished state. Both consider the Indian War narrative as the central part of the *Dionysiaca*, which Nonnus in a second stage expanded in order to create a 48-book epic poem and thus challenge Homer in length. In their attempts to reconstruct the writing process, they read the inconsistencies and abrupt transitions in the poem as signs that could help to identify certain episodes as later and not yet fully integrated additions.

Unlike Keydell, Collart, however, also proposes an interpretation of the *Dionysiaca*'s structure as a whole, and not just of how it could have been structured at an earlier stage of its creation. "Dans leur état incomplet, en dépit de leur délabrement, les *Dionysiaques* ne sont pas la confusion même" (Collart 1930, 60). He proposes a symmetrical model and draws parallels between the subjects of the first 19 and the last 16 books, connecting, among other passages,

42 After the independent use of the same comparison with more positive connotations in Robert's influential *The Jeweled Style* (1989), the mosaic became a popular metaphor for descriptions of the poetry of Late Antiquity in general (both Latin and Greek).

the Typhonomachy in books 1–2 to the Gigantomachy in book 48, the two Theban episodes (books 5 and 44–46) and the funeral games of books 19 and 37.[43]

Quite a different attempt to get a grip on the *Dionysiaca*'s structural composition was simultaneously made by Stegemann (1930), who interprets the *Dionysiaca* as an "Universalgeschichte" and a "Weltheilandslied" in honour of Dionysus, with as key passages the recurring references to astrology and the many prophecies that occur in the poem. The question of the structure proper is treated in an appendix to his work (1930, 209–230), where he compares it to Menander Rhetor's βασιλικὸς λόγος (Men. Rhet. 368–377). Stegemann's rigid diagram (1930, 210–221), connecting each of Menander's pieces of advice with passages in the *Dionysiaca*, received much criticism in later scholarship (see especially D'Ippolito 1964, 22–24). Nevertheless the general idea of interpreting the *Dionysiaca* as conceived within the flexible structural framework of the (royal) encomium has been applauded and is now generally accepted.[44]

A first synthesis of the theories on the structure of the *Dionysiaca* can be found in an important article by Hans Gerstinger (1943). He seriously questions Collart's and Keydell's assumption that the Indian War is the central narrative. According to him, the Indian War is "vielmehr nur eines der zahlreichen erzählten Ereignisse und Abenteuer; der Inhalt ist vielmehr der Dionysosmythos in seiner Ganzheit" (1943, 77–78). Gerstinger was also the first to interpret the narrative structure of the *Dionysiaca* (as a combination of travel adventures and erotic episodes) in connection with the Greek novel. By drawing on parallels outside the epic tradition, he thus offers a more positive explanation for the structural complexity of the poem.[45]

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43 Collart 1930, 59. Many of these connections are today still regarded as important lines of composition, but the model as a whole is usually rejected as too rigid. A slightly different symmetrical model, limited to the episodes before and after the Indian War, has recently been put forward by Zuenelli (2016a forthcoming).

44 See, for example, Vian 1976, XX–XXII. Lasky further developed Stegemann's theory (1975, 1978) and more recently Lasek (2009, 131–144) has proposed an interpretation of the *Dionysiaca*'s basic structure as hymnic, hereby drawing on Lasky's encomiastic arguments. See also Miguélez Cavero 2010 and Chuvin 2016, who interestingly reads the encomium of Dionysus as a "celebration of classical Greek and Roman culture" (2016, 124).

45 Gerstinger 1943, 86: "Wir wissen nämlich […] daß gerade der Roman jene vielgerügten Mängel unserer Dichtung in reichstem Maße aufweist: die lockere kompilatorische Fügung, die mangelhafte pragmatische Verknüpfung und psychologische Motivierung der

Since 1964: Advocating the Principle of ποικιλία

In reaction to the controversial theories of Collart and Keydell ("der analytisch-genetische Ansatz") and the responses of Stegemann and Gerstinger ("der synthetische Ansatz"),[46] the question of structure continued to be a much discussed topic in Nonnus studies during the second half of the 20th century. It remains so at the start of the 21st. A reasonably exhaustive list of the scholars who have treated the question in the last fifty years would include Gennaro D'Ippolito (1964), Martin String (1966), Peter Krafft (1975), Barbara Abel-Wilmanns (1977), Wolfgang Fauth (1981), Thierry Duc (1990), Francis Vian (1994a and 1994b), Ronald Newbold (1999), Robert Shorrock (2001), Vincent Giraudet (2005 and 2010), Pierre Chuvin (2006 and 2014), David Hernández de la Fuente (2008) and Fotini Hadjittofi (2016).

If a common element in all these contributions can be found, it is most probably the general emphasis on ποικιλία (variation) as a structural principle in Nonnus. The apparent chaos in the poem is no longer primarily explained as the result of its unfinished creation process, nor are new attempts made to establish an all-encompassing structural model along the lines of Collart's symmetrical model or Stegemann's astrological and encomiastical theory. Rather, the "chaos" is interpreted to be the logical consequence of Nonnus' pursuit of variation and the inconsistencies between episodes are now generally regarded as of minor importance.[47]

Over the same period, an increasing number of scholars have emphasized the un-classical aspects of the *Dionysiaca*'s style and structural composition.

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einzelnen Erzählungen, die logischen Ungereimtheiten, geographischen und chronologischen Verstöße usw." Cf. Already Cataudella 1936, 177: "Il poema di Nonno, in realtà, ha spiccate analogie col romanzo, che già da qualche secolo fioriva nelle regioni dell'Egitto, dov'è la patria del poeta." By comparing to the novelistic genre, Gerstinger, moreover, also provides a powerful argument against the conclusions of Collart and Keydell and their attempts to reconstruct an earlier version of the poem. "An ein unvollendetes Konzept, an eine rein äußerliche mechanische Zusammenfassung verschiedener selbständiger Einzeldichtungen über Dionysus ist bei diesem Werke ebensowenig zu denken wie bei seinen nächsten Verwandten, den sophistischen Prosaromanen" (1943, 86).

46 Both terms are suggested by Barbara Abel-Wilmanns (1977, 46–54). See also Shorrock (2001, 10–23), who distinguishes between a group of scholars "emphasising the presence of structural frameworks" and others "eschewing the very idea of structural unity" (2001, 10).

47 String 1966, 49: "An sich ist jedoch diese Widersprüchlichkeit nur sekundär, eine Folge der ποικιλία, d.h. des Strebens, aus einem viel zu machen, sei es durch die Häufung der Personen oder Gegenstände, sei es durch die er Aussagen [sic] oder schließlich durch die Änderung der Gedankenrichtung."

Gennaro D'Ippolito, who proposes an interpretation of the poem as a chain of epyllia, also connects its structure with the baroque style that characterizes Nonnus' epic (1964, 51).

> Se nel campo dell'arte il barocco vuol dire la perdita dell'equilibrio classico in favore di nuove forme […]. E se di barocco alessandrino è lecito parlare esso risiede soprattutto in due elementi fondamentali, la perdita della visione d'insieme, alla quale si sostituisce la caratterizzazione dell'individuale e del particolare, e il culto della forma.

Inspired by D'Ippolito's thematic categorization of the *Dionysiaca*'s epyllionic episodes, several scholars have followed in his footsteps by analysing the recurring themes and motives of the *Dionysiaca* not as signs of tedious repetition but rather as a factor that meaningfully connects episodes from different parts of the poem.[48] This interpretation allows scholars to investigate whether there is a certain development throughout the poem in, for example, the role of Dionysus in his many amorous adventures.[49] The most recent overall interpretation of the poem in this vein was launched by David Hernández de la Fuente in 2008, who discerns six thematic cycles in the *Dionysiaca*,[50] eventually bringing the theme of cyclic life and resurrection (cycle six: "Resurrecciones dionisíacas") into prominence as an alternative key to an overall interpretation of the *Dionysiaca*. He interprets it as a teleological structure connected with contemporary religious (Christian and Neo-Platonist) developments.

On the other hand, the discussion on the structure of the poem has also been re-connected to Nonnus' engagement with the epic tradition. Robert Shorrock (2001) discusses the "challenge" Nonnus apparently takes up to encompass in his epic poem all that is epic, both through direct imitation and through allusive engagement (2001, 25–95). The poem not only tells the story of Dionysus, but, according to Shorrock, also of Nonnus' relation to Homer as that of a son imitating, but also revolting against his father (2001, 113–205). The complex structure is thus explained by Shorrock as a composition of multiple story-

48 The themes foregrounded in D'ippolito 1964 are: "παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι", "l'amante abbandonata", "pueri dilecti superis", "ospitalità" and "ἀσέβεια punita".

49 On this specific topic, see esp. Vian 1994b. A thematic approach can also be found in Fauth 1981, Giraudet 2005, Hernández de la Fuente 2008 and Hadjitoffi 2016.

50 His six themes, resembling those of D'Ippolito are "El orden contra el caos", "Ciudades y amores", "La hospitalidad de la vid", "Los enemigos del dios", "El deseo y la soberbia" and "Resurrecciones dionisíacas".

lines, of which the two "epic" lines of developments singled out in his book are merely presented as two interesting examples. "[I]t is a coordination of different narratives and structures. The story of Dionysus is not a single story; it is constructed out of a series of different frames (epyllionic, astrological, encomiastic etc.) which all intersect, and overlie one another" (2001, 22).

Nonnus' ambiguous attitude towards the epic tradition is also the subject of an important article by Pierre Chuvin (2006), who considers the *Dionysiaca* to be, among other things, "la déconstruction de l'épopée". Chuvin draws attention to the epic regularity of the numbers of books for each major part of the narrative in the first part of the poem (1–6, 6–12, 13–24), which is totally abandoned in the second part.[51] "Nonnos semble [...] s'engager sur des voies qu'il ne suit pas jusqu'au bout. Appliquant les mêmes procédés pour l'ensemble du poème et pour ses épisodes isolés, il lui arrive souvent de paraître nous proposer un 'plan limpide ... aussitôt abandonné'" (2006, 254). Instead of criticizing the irregularity of Nonnus' composition, he interprets it as a purposeful means by which to simultaneously engage with the epic genre and break the expectations that go with it—for which Nonnus also uses humour and epic parody.

Direct Speech in the *Dionysiaca*

The research presented in this book ties in with the debate on the *Dionysiaca*'s structure. What I will try to demonstrate, among other things, is that Chuvin's observations regarding Nonnus' structural engagement with the epic genre also apply to his use of direct speech. The presence of speech uttered by characters ("character text") is an important (micro)-structural element inherent in the genre of epic poetry and, as will be illustrated, a feature of Nonnus' poetry in which he most distinctively differs from his epic predecessors. Un-traditionally epic as his use of direct speech may be, it is—as will become clear—also a key feature used by Nonnus to enter into a dialogue with his epic predecessors and to challenge epic conventions.

51 Whereas Collart (1930, 212–213) and Keydell (1927, 393–434) interpreted the duel between Deriades and Dionysus in book 36 as a missed opportunity to end the Indian War after 24 books (and thus as proof of the unfinished state of the poem, that presumably had gone through a rash expansion before being left unrevised), Chuvin explains it as a conscious break with the epic regularity, deliberately confusing the reader's expectations.

In Antiquity, the presence of direct speech was seen as a genre marker for epic poetry. Both Plato[52] and Aristotle[53] defined the genre as the combination of character text and narrator text, thus distinguishing it both from tragedy and comedy (character text only) and from lyric or dithyrambic poetry (narrator text only). A frequently quoted passage from Aristotle's *Poetics* (1460a) could, furthermore, be interpreted as praise for Homer for the way he brings his characters to life through speech and for the fine balance of narrator text and character text in his poems.[54]

> Ὅμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δι' ὅλου ἀγωνίζονται, μιμοῦνται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ ὀλιγάκις· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα φροιμιασάμενος εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος, καὶ οὐδέν' ἀήθη ἀλλ' ἔχοντα ἦθος.
>
> Homer deserves praise for many other qualities, but especially for realising, alone among epic poets, the place of the poet's own voice. For the poet should say as little as possible in his own voice, as it is not this that makes him a mimetic artist. The others participate in their own voice throughout, and engage in mimesis only briefly and occasionally, whereas Homer,

52 Plato, *Resp.* 394b–c: 'Ορθότατα, ἔφην, ὑπέλαβες, καὶ οἶμαί σοι ἤδη δηλοῦν ὃ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦ, ὅτι τῆς ποιήσεώς τε καὶ μυθολογίας ἡ μὲν διὰ μιμήσεως ὅλη ἐστίν, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τραγῳδία τε καὶ κωμῳδία, ἡ δὲ δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ—εὕροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστά που ἐν διθυράμβοις—ἡ δ' αὖ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἔν τε τῇ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσει, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι, εἴ μοι μανθάνεις. "'You've got it in one,' I said, 'and I think I can now make clear to you what I couldn't before, the fact that of poetry and storytelling: the one is done entirely by means of imitation, i.e. tragedy and comedy exactly as you say, and the other is the recital of the poet himself, and you would find it in particular, I suppose, in the dithyramb. Where it is a combination of the two, you would find it in the composition of epic poetry and in many other places, if you follow me'" (transl. Emlyn-Jones and Preddy 2013).

53 Aristotle, *Poet.* 1448a19–24: Ἔτι δὲ τούτων τρίτη διαφορὰ τὸ ὡς ἕκαστα τούτων μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι ἔστιν ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα, ἢ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ, ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντα, ἢ πάντας ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας τοὺς μιμουμένους. "There is, beside these, a third distinction—in the mode of mimesis for these various objects. For in the same media one can represent the same objects by combining narrative with direct personation, as Homer does; or in an invariable narrative voice; or by direct enactment of all roles" (transl. Halliwell 1995). See also de Jong 1987, 1–6.

54 See also de Jong 1987a, 6–8 for a different interpretation of this passage. She underlines in her interpretation the distinction between poet (αὐτὸν [...] τὸν ποιητὴν) and narrator.

> after a brief introduction, at once "brings onto stage" a man, woman, or other figure (all of them rich in character).
>
> transl. HALLIWELL 1995

It can indeed be argued that much of the charm of the Homeric poems lies in the conversations between the heroes, which not only render the poems more vivid, but often have a crucial function in the plot. To emphasize this feature, modern studies often quote the high percentages of speech in the *Iliad* (45%) and the *Odyssey* (67.7%).[55] From Homer onwards, however, the percentage of speech in Greek epic poetry decreases considerably, as was first noted by George Wicker Elderkin. In his book *Aspects of the speech in the Later Greek Epic* (1906), he mathematically compares the use of direct speech in Homer, Apollonius, Quintus, Nonnus, Triphiodorus, Colluthus and the *Orphic Argonautica*. In Apollonius' *Argonautica* 29.4% of the text is direct speech; in Quintus' *Posthomerica* 23.6%.[56] Therefore, Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* with its 35.6% of direct speech seems to be closer to Homer in this aspect than these other Greek epicists. However, as I will demonstrate, the fewer and longer speeches of the *Dionysiaca*, which only exceptionally are part of a dialogue, actually prove him to be the least Homeric of all.[57] Before introducing more statistical data based on my own research, I will give a brief overview of the research that has already been conducted regarding several aspects of direct speech in

55 The first to provide statistical data on speech in epic poetry (Homer and Vergil) was Schneidewin (1884). Expanding on Schneidewin's material, Elderkin (1906, 5–6) made the observation that the "summit point of interest" in an epic poem most often coincides with a higher percentage of speech (see also Scully 1986, 137). The figures cited here are the result of my own calculations and correspond with those of Beck (2005), de Jong (1987a), both also working with their own data, and Schmid and Stählin (1929, 92 n. 7). They differ from the percentages calculated by Schneidewin (1884), which are also still in use. Schneidewin does not count the long narrative speeches of Odysseus in *Od.* 9–12 as speech, but counts the instances of direct speech that are embedded in those speeches instead. In this way the *Odyssey* amounts to "only" 56% of speech. In other scholars the percentages for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have been accidently confused. De Jong (1987, 276) points out the mistake in Latacz (1974, 395) and Fenik (1978, 96) but more recently Laird (1999, 154 n. 3) still presents the wrong data.

56 My own calculations here roughly correspond with those of Elderkin (1906), whose results have until now not been updated.

57 Also Vian 1986, 337: "Il [Nonnus] remet en honneur le discours direct dont l'importance avait considérablement décru après Homère. Mais les 36% du poème qui sont occupés par des discours ne tendent nullement à faire des *Dionysiaques* une 'imitation dramatique' pour reprendre l'expression dont Aristote se sert à propos d'Homère."

Homer, Apollonius, Quintus and Nonnus. Although the Latin epic tradition also provides interesting points of comparison for Nonnus, the overview given here is limited to the major epic poems from the Greek tradition.[58] The late antique epyllia of Triphiodorus (20.5 % speech), Musaeus (25 %), Colluthus (37 %)[59] and the *Orphic Argonautica* (12.5 %) are not included in my overview because of the huge difference in scale between these miniature epics and Nonnus' massive *Dionysiaca*, which would render any in-depth statistical comparison quite meaningless. Nonnus' *Paraphrase* is also not included, because the close relationship with the Gospel brings about a totally different dynamic.

Scholarly Research on Direct Speech in Greek Epic Poetry

A vast number of scholarly publications have appeared on direct speech in Homer, looking at the subject from many different perspectives. In her book *Narrators and Focalizers* (1987a, 150; reprinted in 2004), Irene de Jong lists the five most prominent topics of research on Homeric speech until 1987:[60]

58 Following in Elderkin's footsteps, Lipscomb published his *Aspects of the speech in the Later Latin Epic* (1909), containing statistical data for the epic poems of Vergil, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Statius, Silius Italicus and Claudian. The speech ratio of these authors varies between 30 % (Claudian) and 38 % (Vergil). Lucan's *Pharsalia*, an epic poem with the same rhetorical stamp as the *Dionysiaca* and which shows a similar tendency towards fewer and longer speeches, will be used for comparison to Nonnus in my chapter 2 on battle exhortations. See also Farrell 1997, 134: "Nonnus and Lucan differ sharply from all other epic poets in two respects. First they introduce speeches only about half as frequently as do all the others; second, whereas the average length of a speech in all other epic poets from Homer onwards is between eleven and thirteen lines, in these two poets speeches average twice that length, or twenty-five and twenty-two lines, respectively." A second Latin epicist showing similar tendencies (few but very long speeches) is Nonnus' near contemporary Claudian, who, as Cameron points out (1970, 267), like Nonnus very rarely allows any form of dialogue. On speech in Latin epic, see also Helzle 1996, Farrell 1997, Dominik 2002 and Narducci 2007. On speech in Vergil: Highet 1974 and Laird 1999; in Statius' *Thebaid*: Dominik 1994; in Lucan: Heslop 1962 and Tasler 1972; in Silius Italicus: Lundström 1971; and in Claudian: Cameron 1970, 266–268. It has, however, not been possible within the scope of the research project of which this book is the result to pursue further explorations in this field.

59 The percentage of speech in Colluthus might suggest a parallel development in Nonnus and his "pupil". A closer look corrects this first impression: in Colluthus we find a high frequency of short speeches (average length even slightly shorter than in Homer), of which most are part of a dialogue. Because of the difference in scale it is difficult to compare, but it seems that Nonnus even in his late antique context is the sole exception regarding the length and distribution of the speeches.

60 From my own reading I can add to this list, Delaunois 1952 on persuasive strategies and

(1)	Typology of speeches[61]
(2)	Distribution of speech[62]
(3 and 4)	Structure of speeches and relationships between them[63]
(5)	Characterization through speech.[64]

Her book is also a landmark in itself, as it applies narratological theory to Homer for the first time. Of special interest for the topic of epic speech are her chapters on "Character-text (Speeches)" (1987, 149–194) and on "The relation of Narrator-text (simple and complex) and Character-Text" (1987, 195–220).[65] I will return to de Jong's work when discussing my own approach.

Since the publication of her book, Homeric speech has remained a field of interest for many scholars using different approaches. More recent highlights are the books by Elizabeth Minchin (2007—cognitive theory, speech genres, gender),[66] Deborah Beck (2005 and 2012—conversation theory and speech representation spectrum)[67] and Rachel Ahern Knudsen (2014—rhetoric).[68]

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rhetoric, Cramer 1976 on significant silences, and Scully 1986 on the interpretation of embedded narratives.

61 De Jong mentions Fingerle 1939, Beckman 1932, Petersmann 1973 and Latacz 1977.

62 De Jong mentions Myres 1954.

63 De Jong mentions Lohmann 1970 as the most important representative of both topics.

64 De Jong mentions Parry 1956, Reeve 1973, Claus 1975, Friedrich and Redfield 1978 and 1981, Schein 1980, Messing 1981, Scully 1984 and Griffin 1986.

65 De Jong also pays ample attention to speech in her *Narratological commentary on the Odyssey* (2001). Also of interest are: de Jong 1987b, de Jong 1997 and de Jong, Nünlist and Bowie (ed.) 2004.

66 Minchin's work can be seen as a continuation of the new and interdisciplinary approach to Homeric speech introduced by Martin (1989), who already combined ethnographic theory and linguistic philosophy to develop a new speech typology referring to speech genres as "genres of verbal behaviour". Minchin herself approaches the question of speech genres by applying cognitive theory and looks into the question of gender-based differentiations.

67 In her first book *Homeric Conversation* (2005), Beck focusses on the conversational functions of speech in Homer. In her second book *Speech presentation in Homeric epic* (2012), she continues in the same vein and combines the theoretical frameworks of narratology and conversation theory from her first book with speech act theory in order to define the "speech presentation spectrum" of the Homeric "implied author", thereby also emphasizing the importance of non-direct speech presentation (indirect speech, free indirect speech and speech mention).

68 With her book *Homeric speech and the origins of Rhetoric* (2014), Knudsen continues in the vein of others like Toohey (1994) and Clark (2002) who earlier drew our attention to the rhetorical and persuasive abilities of the Homeric heroes. Knudsen argues that in

The vast interest in speech in Homeric studies seems, however, not to be reflected in the scholarship on Apollonius of Rhodes and Quintus of Smyrna. Due to the much larger scale of Homeric studies comparison is difficult, but even in relative terms, speech seems to take a much less central position in the research on these later epics. The most extensive study of Apollonius' use of speech that I know of is the book by Rolf Ibscher (1939), who developed a content-based speech typology.[69] Individual speeches in Apollonius are also the subject of several more recent publications mainly focussing on Jason's persuasive strategies or on the "interior monologues" of Medea.[70]

Much less scholarly attention has been paid to speech in Quintus, which has not yet been the subject of any dedicated study.[71] When the evolution from Homer to Quintus towards a smaller amount of direct speech is commented upon, scholars usually refer to the inevitable change in methods of composition from Homer's archaic epic poetry, based on an oral tradition, to Hellenistic and Imperial poetry by self-conscious, highly educated authors. Massimo Fusillo, for example, comments that the "designed choice of direct speeches" made by Apollonius in the *Argonautica* contrasts with the "unlimited space [given] to the characters' voice" in Homer's *Iliad*.[72] The speech ratio, however, only indicates the number of lines of speech in relation to the length of the poems,

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the Homeric poems rhetorical abilities were already regarded as a craft (τέχνη), a "rule-governed practice" that could be acquired by training in certain skills and techniques.

69 This work also includes a full table with all the *Argonautica*'s speeches and a general discussion following a content-based division into types. It is very similar in approach to the work of Fingerle (1939) on the *Iliad* that appeared in the same year.

70 General discussion: Hunter 1993, 138–152 and 2001; rhetoric: Toohey 1994, Mori 2007 and Volonaki 2013; interior monologues: Fusillo 2001 and Grillo 2011; introductory formulas: Fantuzzi 1984.

71 More general studies, however, such as the introduction to Quintus in Vian's edition (1963) or the commentary of James and Lee (2000) contain sections on the use of speech. See Vian 1963, XXXIX: "Ce sont surtout les discours qui révèlent l'influence de la rhétorique. Quintus use deux fois moins du style direct qu'Homère; le dialogue est assez rare chez lui et comporte peu de répliques; en revanche, les discours tendent à s'allonger, c'est-à-dire à être traités pour eux-mêmes." In a structural analysis by Schenk (1997), the dialogues during the assemblies of the Greeks (the longest dialogues in the poem) are interpreted as important turning points and structuring elements in the story of the *Posthomerica*.

72 Fusillo 2001, 140. On the reduction of direct speech in Apollonius, see also Hunter 1993, 141: "The reduction in the amount of direct speech from its Homeric levels will, of course, have more than one explanation; the change from oral to written epic is only a partial answer. Whereas the 'Achilles plot' of the *Iliad* works itself out largely through speech, because of the hero's withdrawal from the field of action, the Argonautic quest ensures a constant movement through action. Nevertheless, the sparing use of direct speech must

and—as the example of Nonnus clearly indicates—does not give any indication of the distribution of the speeches throughout the poem.

Although this book presents the first truly extensive study of speech in the *Dionysiaca*, the difference between Nonnus and his predecessors in this respect has long been noted and has often been linked to the influence of contemporary rhetoric. In the introduction to his monograph on the structure of the *Dionysiaca*, Paul Collart (1930, 7) writes:

> Il n' est point, en effet, de chant des *Dionysiaques* où ne se sente l' influence de la rhétorique véhémente et maniérée de l' époque, où ne se trouvent des morceaux brillants dont les Προγυμνάσματα des maîtres donnaient la définition et l' exemple.

His contemporary Rudolf Keydell, in his lemma on Nonnus in the *Realencyclopädie*, adds to this (1936, 912):

> Ihre [referring to "asianische Retorik"] Einwirkung ist vor allem in den zahlreichen direkten Reden spürbar, die oft zu reinen Deklamationen werden.

The clear difference in this respect between Nonnus and his epic predecessors was first given prominence by their contemporary Albert Wifstrand in his *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (1933, 141–154).[73] He draws attention to four important aspects of Nonnus' use of direct speech that will be developed in this book.

(1) First, and perhaps most importantly, he draws attention to the absence (to a large extent) of dialogue (Wifstrand 1933, 142).[74]

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also be viewed in the context of the insistent authorial voice which never allows us to imagine for long that the characters are 'speaking for themselves'". And Toohey 1994, 167–168: "But, and this point cannot be underlined enough—despite Apollonius' obvious skills at speech-making, he offers few specimens. Given his obvious competence at the task, this absence of direct speech must surely be taken as a deliberate choice."

73 See esp. Wifstrand 1933, 141: "Die Reden bei Nonnos erinnern nicht sehr viel an die Reden in der früheren Epik."

74 Compare also Cameron 1970, 266–267 on Claudian (and Nonnus, primarily building on Wifstrand): "Direct speech occupies a larger, and different, role in Claudian than in his Latin (and Greek) predecessors. […] In Claudian speeches no longer arise naturally and frequently out of the narrative. The tendency is rather to long set speeches, either single, virtual declamations, or (much less frequently) in pairs, either complementary or contrasting. There is almost no genuine dialogue. One particular manifestation of this

> Wie anders ist sonst alles bei dem Panopolitaner! Längere Gespräche kommen nirgends vor, Rede und Gegenrede selten; die meisten Reden sind pathetische Gefühlsausbrüche mit oder ohne Zuhörer, oft an Abwesende gerichtet, an die Natur, an Tiere.

Wifstrand's observations are mainly based on the first twelve books of the *Dionysiaca*, in which he discerns only one "true" dialogue (with an immediate and meaningful reply): the conversation between Cadmus and Electra in 3.248–371.

(2) Secondly, he connects this absence of dialogue with his observation that there are numerous "Selbstäusserungen" (soliloquies) in Nonnus. There are, of course, precedents in Apollonius (cf. Medea's interior monologues), but this type of speech is much more frequent, much longer and "spitzfindig" rather than "gefühlvoll" (1933, 144) in Nonnus.

(3) Thirdly, in his brief stylistic analysis of Nonnus' use of speech, Wifstrand also draws attention to the short sentences, the abrupt transitions (1933, 147 "zerhackt, pointiert, antithetisch") and the emotional involvement (πάθος) of the speaking characters.[75] Basing himself on these stylistic observations, Wifstrand is the first to connect Nonnus' many soliloquies with the school practice of writing ethopoeae and the theory of the progymnasmata handbooks on this exercise.[76]

(4) And finally, he also points out stylistic similarities with the pathetical complaints of the characters in the Greek novels (especially Achilles Tatius) (1933, 147–149).

Building on Wifstrand's observations, Peter Krafft in an article of 1975 discussed the narrative function of the numerous soliloquies (Wifstrand's "Selbstäusserungen") of minor characters in Nonnus. According to Kraft, minor characters often only appear "on scene" with the purpose of delivering their speech, before disappearing again (cf. Krafft 1975, 111: "zu diesem Zweck eingeführten und sofort nach der Erfüllung dieser Sprecherrolle wieder verschwindenden Figuren").[77] I will discuss Krafft's observations in further detail in chapter 5.

(even clearer in Nonnus than in Claudian) is the monologue, often so dissociated from its context that it is addressed to no one in particular."

75 See also Agosti 2005, 46: "I discorsi nonniani sono tutti caratterizzati da uno stile fortemente patetico, asindetico, pieno di antitesi e ossimori, con cola brevi."

76 See also Kost 1971, 28–29, who recapitualated Wifstrands observations in a succinct comparison between Nonnus and Musaeus: "Die nonnischen Reden tragen als rhetorisch-ethopoietische Prunckstücke irhen Wert in sich."

77 Cf. also Whitby 1994, 102 on the difference in the use of speech between Nonnus and

More recent contributions to this particular field to which I am much indebted are the work of Gianfranco Agosti (2005) and Laura Miguélez Cavero (2008, especially 316–339), who have both shed more light on the broader question of the influence of the contemporary rhetorical practice of writing ethopoeae on late antique poetry, thus putting Nonnus in a literary-historical perspective.[78] Agosti's article also provides an interesting appendix with an extensive (but not exhaustive) list of "ethopoeic" speeches in Nonnus (2005, 56).

Other recent studies focus on individual speeches or groups of speeches and specific rhetorical aspects. It is possible to mention the thought-provoking articles by Giulio Massimilla (2003, on the expression Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις to introduce

Moschus: "In consequence, Nonnus uses considerably more direct speech than Moschus. But the major speeches come not, as in Moschus, from the protagonists themselves, but from the onlookers."

78 Other scholars that have further developed Wifstrand's observations on the ethopoeic speeches in Nonnus are D'Ippolito 1964, 49 n. 3: "Una cospicua influenza della tradizione dell'epillio inserita nella tradizione scolastica e retorica si realizza soprattutto nelle parti drammatiche. Queste non soltanto sono aumentate di estensione, ma presentano anche caratteristiche che le fanno nettamente divergere dai discorsi dell'epica classica. Sono completamente assenti nelle *Dionisiache* i lunghi dialoghi che caratterizzano l'epica di Omero e tutta la tradizione che a lui fa capo, da Vergilio al tardo epigono Quinto Smirneo. Si può solo trovare, ma è un caso raro, un discorso con una risposta [...]: quasi tutte le parti drammatiche non sono invece che patetiche effusioni sentimentali, che il più delle volte non ànno neanche ascoltatori, ma si rivolgono ad assenti, o ad animali, o alla natura inanimata. Questi monologhi poi sono sempre costituiti da brevi parti, spesso in forma interrogativa, che si susseguono senza legature e cominciano di solito ad inizio di verso: l'espressione è sempre elaborata con estrema ricercatezza, con evidente predilezione per le anafore, le assonanze, le simmetrie di costruzione. Tutto questo è gusto alessandrino spinto alle estreme conseguenze dalla tradizione retorica: un confronto con la prosa contemporanea mostra come in fondo le parti drammatiche del poema nonniano non siano che esempi di discorsi 'τίνας ἂν τις εἴποι λόγους' cioè seguono le regole dell'etopea retorica", and String 1966, 6: "Einer der auffälligsten Unterschiede dieses Werkes von der früheren, ja von aller anderen griechischen Epik (selbst die 'Nonnosschüler' nicht ausgenommen) liegt in den Reden, sowohl in deren Häufigkeit und Länge als in ihrer Art. Über sie ist das Wesentliche von Wifstrand gesagt worden. Alle gehören zu der Art der 'τίνας ἂν τις εἴποι λόγους'-Reden, d.h. sie ergehen sich in allerlei in einer bestimmten Situation denkbaren Betrachtungen und Gefühlsäußerungen, die sich hauptsächlich aus einem großen Vorrat von mythologischen Parallelfällen und Gegenbeispielen speisen, und führen damit von der Erzählung ab, während im homerischen Epos die direkte Rede als Zwiegespräch, Selbstgespräch und Ansprache zu ihrem Teil die Vergegenwärtigung des Geschehens bewirkt."

procatalepsis, see below under 3.2.3), Laura Miguélez Cavero (2010, on invectives), Katerina Carvounis (2014, on persuasive strategies) and Nicole Kröll (2014, on rhetorical elements in the Ampelus episode). Kröll's research on the Ampelus episode has, moreover, recently been published as a monograph, with an important chapter dealing with the rhetorical composition of the episode (2016, esp. "Kapitel 6. Nonnos und die Rhetorik als poetische Technik", 151–197).[79]

Homer, Apollonius, Quintus and Nonnus Compared: Statistical Data

For the quantifiable aspects of Greek epic speech, I rely on a database created in the course of my research, on which all figures in the following paragraphs are based. The database itself will be made available online. In it, I have collected and listed information on every instance of direct speech (hereafter: "a speech", pl. "speeches") in the *Iliad, Odyssey, Argonautica, Posthomerica* and *Dionysiaca* and thus created my own research instrument, which can be used for more advanced calculations than was possible with Elderkin's data. The database contains basic information about every speech (position, length, who to whom), but also keeps track of its conversational function and adds labels, typifying the speeches with respect to content.

However, it has to be noted that for the calculations below only direct speech inserted at the level of the main narrator is taken into account. Speeches embedded in speeches are also an important aspect of epic speech and are quite frequent in both Homer and Nonnus. But for reasons of clarity they could not be taken into account in the charts and calculations in this chapter. They will be treated separately in chapter 3.

My data are, furthermore, limited to instances of direct speech. Instances of indirect speech or speech mention are not taken into account. They will be referred to in this book only when relevant for a specific case study. Especially with regard to the conversational function of speech they can be important as, in several cases, a conversation is not rendered solely in direct speech but also partially in indirect speech or by speech mention. The importance of this phenomenon has been convincingly demonstrated by Deborah Beck

79 Two more articles (Frangoulis 2006b, Villarrubia 1999) on individual speeches in Nonnus can be mentioned, in which not the rhetorical but the novelistic influence suggested by Wifstrand is the focus of attention. For most of the individual speeches in Nonnus, however, the excellent introductory chapters to each individual book of the *Dionysiaca* in the Budé edition provide the most extensive discussion and analysis available. Especially the longer speeches receive ample attention. The running commentary of the Italian BUR-edition also provides a large number of valuable comments.

(2012) for Homer. Inspired by practical considerations and because of the highly problematic definitions of these types of speech presentation, I have chosen to limit my scope to the more neatly demarcated category of direct speech, which remains an interesting category *an sich*.

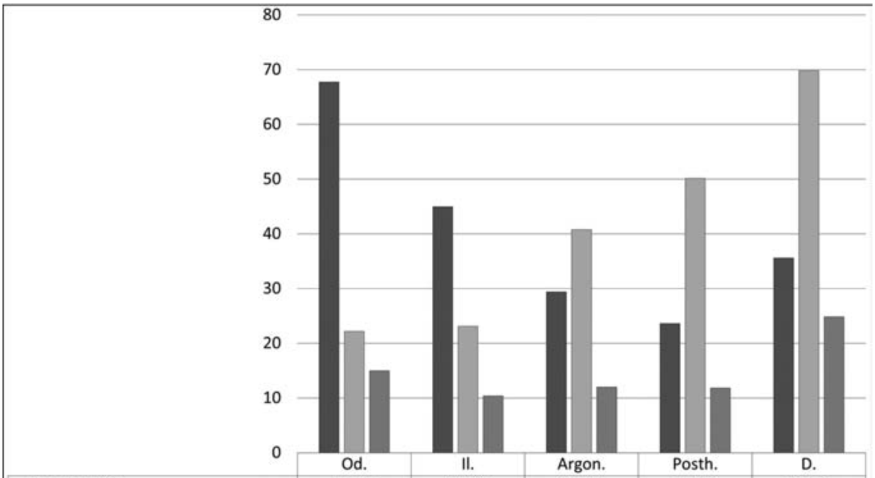
Finally, in the specific case of the *Dionysiaca*, it also has to be mentioned that my counts and calculations exclude quoted inscriptions, a feature which seems unique to Nonnus' epic and occurs both in narrator text and character text.[80]

Quantity and Length

In the chart below (figure 1), an overview is given of the different quantitative factors of the presence of speech in all five Greek epic poems. As was mentioned before, Nonnus has longer but fewer speeches than any of his predecessors. The frequency with which speeches are inserted can be calculated by dividing the total length of the poem (expressed in lines) by the total number of speeches. There is a speech for every 23 lines in Homer, every 41 in the *Argonautica*, every 50 in the *Posthomerica*, but only for every 70 in the *Dionysiaca*. His speeches, on the other hand, are much longer. The average speech length in the *Iliad* is 10.4 lines, in the *Odyssey* 15, in the *Argonautica* 12, in the *Posthomerica* 11.8 and in the *Dionysiaca* 24.8.

It must be noted, however, that, whereas the *Odyssey*'s higher-than-average speech percentage and average speech length (compared to the *Iliad, Argonautica* and *Posthomerica*) is mainly due to the long narrative speeches of books 9–12, the longest speeches of the *Dionysiaca* are also narrative speeches. The four longest speeches in the *Dionysiaca* are (in increasing order) the stories told by Tiresias (on the Tyrrhenian pirates and Dionysus' victory over the giant Alpus, 45.96–215, 120 lines), by Eros (on the fate of the lovers Calamus and Carpus, 11.356–481, 126 lines), by Herakles (the foundation myth of Tyre, 40.429–573, 145 lines) and by Hermes (the Phaethon story, 38.105–434, 330 lines). Three of these four narrative speeches in their turn also contain several embedded speeches. Compared to Odysseus' lengthy narrative speeches (*Od.* 9.2–11.332, 1471 lines and 11.378–12.453, 716 lines, together 26% of all speech-lines in the

80 See Collart 1913, Lasek 2009, 71–80, Miguélez Cavero 2008, 170–172, Agosti 2010 and Geisz 2013, 179. The narrator quotes written text in ten passages: 7.117–128 (on Eros' quiver), 12.70–89, 97–102, 110–113 (on the tables of Harmonia), 17.313–314 (Orontes' epitaph), 21.277 (Deriades' written answer to Dionysus) 37.101–102 (Opheltes' epitaph), 41.315–317 and 389–398 (Ophion's prophetic tablets) and 48.619–620 (Eros' message for Dionysus written on petals). Characters do so four times: 2.629–630 (Zeus' epitaph for Typhon), 11.476–477 (Calamus' epitaph for himself and Carpus), 15.361–362 (Hymnus' epitaph for himself) and 46.318–319 (Agave's epitaph for Pentheus).



	Od.	Il.	Argon.	Posth.	D.
■ Speech ratio	67.74	44.96	29.40	23.60	35.56
■ Frequency of speeches (new speech starts on average after every X lines)	22.17	23.14	40.80	50.12	69.79
■ Average length of a speech (lines)	15.01	10.40	12.00	11.83	24.83

FIGURE 1 *Direct Speech in Greek Epic*

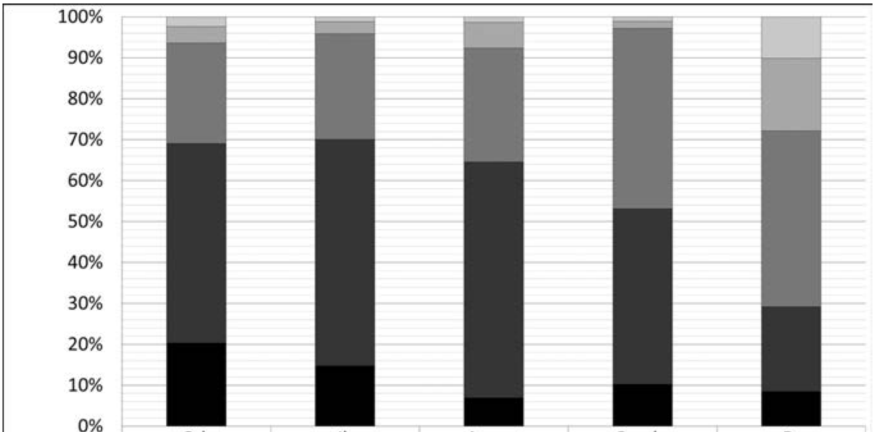
Odyssey), the *Dionysiaca*'s narrative speeches are, however, much shorter and thus have a much smaller impact on the average length. In Nonnus, the four longest speeches are only a small part of the large group of 31 speeches of 50 lines or more. If these four were excluded from my count, the average speech length in Nonnus would still be 22.8 lines. The *Odyssey*, on the other hand, would have an average of only 10.3 lines/speech, slightly below the Iliadic average, if the four longest speeches were excluded (three by Odysseus 9.2–11.332, 11.378–12.453 and 14.192–359 and one by Menelaos 4.333–592).

Thus, whereas the relatively high average length in the *Odyssey* can be explained as the result of the presence of a small number of exceptionally long speeches, this is not the case for Nonnus. This is also demonstrated in my second chart (figure 2), showing the difference in speech length between Nonnus' speeches and those of his predecessors in a more nuanced way.

Only 29% of Nonnus' speeches are 10 lines or less (compared to 69% in the *Odyssey*, 70% in the *Iliad*, 65% in the *Argonautica* and 53% in the *Posthomerica*). No less than 28% of Nonnus' speeches are 30 lines or longer (compared to 6% in the *Odyssey*, 4% in the *Iliad*, 8% in the *Argonautica* and 3% in the *Posthomerica*).

Dialogues

As was noted by Wifstrand (1933, 142), a second important difference between Nonnus and his Greek predecessors, besides the smaller number and greater



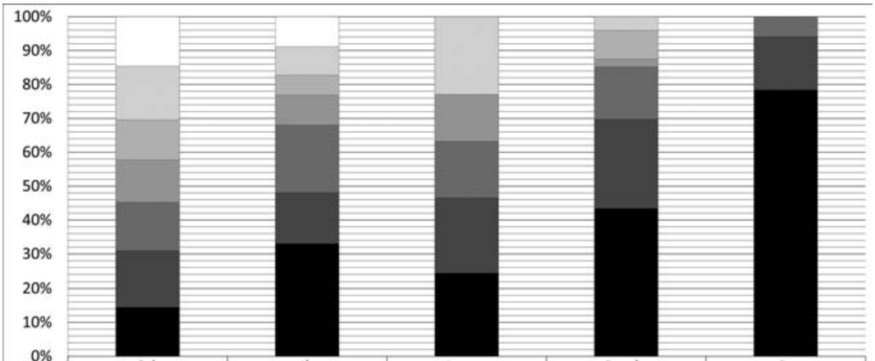
	Od.	Il.	Argon.	Posth.	D.
≥ 50 lines	13	8	2	2	31
30-49 lines	22	20	9	3	54
11-29 lines	134	175	40	77	131
4-10 lines	266	375	83	75	63
≤ 3 lines	111	100	10	18	26

FIGURE 2 *Direct Speech in Greek Epic: Speech Length*

length of the speeches, is the remarkable absence of dialogue. In the *Iliad*, only 32% of all speeches are not part of a dialogue, which is (quite pragmatically) defined here as a sequence of more than one speech.[81] In fact, the majority (52%) appears in dialogues consisting of three or more speeches. Although dialogues of two or three speeches are most common, the *Iliad* also contains a number of longer dialogues, consisting of nine (4×), eleven or thirteen speeches, mostly as part of assembly scenes. Figure 3 offers a detailed overview.

The *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica* and the *Posthomerica* show some significant differences in this respect, both compared to the *Iliad* and to each other. The number of speeches appearing alone (i.e. without a response in direct speech), for example, is even lower in the *Odyssey* (only 14%) and *Argonautica* (only 24%) than in the *Iliad*, but this category contains 43% of all speeches in the *Posthomerica*. However, the overall tendencies observed in the *Iliad* also apply to these three epic poems: (1) most speeches (86% for the *Odyssey*, 76% for the *Argonautica* and still 57% for the *Posthomerica*) appear in a dialogue; and

81 Note that the unit in figure 3 is one speech, not one dialogue. For example, if in the column of the *Odyssey*, there are 90 speeches in dialogues consisting of two speeches, and 78 in dialogues of three speeches, this means that in the *Odyssey* there are 45 dialogues of two speeches and 26 of three speeches.



	Od.	Il.	Argon.	Posth.	D.
9+	80	60	0	0	0
6 to 8	86	57	33	7	0
5	65	40	0	15	0
4	68	60	20	4	0
3	78	135	24	27	18
2	90	102	32	46	48
1	79	224	35	76	239

FIGURE 3 *Direct Speech in Greek Epic: Conversational Function of Speech*

(2), whereas dialogues of two or three speeches are most common, longer dialogues (with up to seventeen speeches in the *Odyssey* and up to seven in the *Argonautica* and *Posthomerica*) are also regularly found.[82]

The situation in Nonnus is markedly different. 78 % of all speeches appear alone. There are no dialogues of more than three speeches, and those of three are rare exceptions. Only six dialogues of this type can be counted.[83] The remaining dialogues (24 in total) in the *Dionysiaca* only consist of two speeches.

82 Compare (on dialogues in Apollonius) Wifstrand 1933, 141: "auch wo wir Gespräch haben, folgen Rede und Gegenrede selten unmittelbar nacheinander: zwischen die Äusserungen stellt der Dichter ein paar Verse, die die Situation ausmalen und vor allem den Eindruck schildern, den die gesprochenen Worte auf die Zuhörer gemacht haben. […] Längere Gespräche kommen fast nur im dritten Buche vor, Monologe sind nicht ungewöhnlich." And Fusillo (2001, 141): "The examples of direct speeches in Apollonius, on the other hand, are always circumscribed, rarely with a true dialogical exchange. They provide a specimen of a more highly developed articulation, which is left to the reader's imagination." Quintus appears, according to Wifstrand, more as a Homerist in his use of speech and dialogue (1933, 141: "Weil er mehr Homeriker ist"), whereas it is clear from my chart that he shares with Nonnus the (late antique?) tendency towards less dialogues and more single speeches and soliloquies, but less drastically so than Nonnus. See also Vian 1963, XXVII and see n. 71 above.

83 Vian (2003, 42 n. 3) counts seven (in a note on the dialogue of Nemesis and Artemis, 48.389–448): "On ne relève que six autres exemples: 15,298–362 (Nicaia-Hymnos); 21,216–273 (Dériade-Phérespondos); 25,326–367 (Dionysos-Attis); 31,212–32,8 (Héra-Aphrodite);

Figure 3 makes no distinction between soliloquies (Wifstrand's "Selbstäusserungen") and what I call "single speeches" or monologues, addressed to one or more characters who are present and (supposed to be) listening but do not respond with direct speech. It is not always easy to make the distinction in Nonnus because of the frequent use of apostrophes to presumably absent characters. In the absence of a reaction, it is in many cases not entirely clear whether the person addressed (an enemy, a beloved, a god) is actually present or listening. A Nonnian equivalent of the introductory formula in Homer indicating a speech to the self (cf. *Il.* 11.403: ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν) does not seem to exist.

A total number of 83 of the *Dionysiaca*'s speeches are marked as "soliloquies" in my database. Although several individual examples are open for discussion (18 more are marked as doubtful cases, either to be interpreted as soliloquies or as single speeches that simply do not elicit a reaction), this number (27.2%, more than one quarter of all speeches in Nonnus) gives a clear indication of the degree to which this feature, much rarer in Homer (*Iliad* 6.5%, half of which are prayers and oaths to the gods; *Odyssey* 2.3%), Apollonius (5%, 4 out of 7 are Medea's self-reflective speeches) or even Quintus (15.5%, half of which are laments), has been standardized in Nonnus.

In the other cases (138 speeches, 45% of all speeches in Nonnus) a single speech is addressed to another character. In some cases this leads to an emotional reaction (for example, Electra's tears after Harmonia's plea of 4.36–63) or an act of obedience (for example, Cadmus' actions after Zeus' request in 1.378–397). In many cases, however, no immediate reaction follows, which makes this kind of speech very similar in effect to a soliloquy (for example, Nike's exhortation to Zeus in 2.209–236).[84]

Speaking Characters

A third factor of interest is the number of speaking characters. In no other epic poem are so many different characters given a voice as in the *Dionysiaca*. As can be seen in the table below, the average number of speeches per character of the *Dionysiaca* (2.5) is similar to the averages of the *Argonautica* (3.1) and *Posthomerica* (2.5), but diverges clearly from those of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

32,42–75 (Zeus-Héra); 41,315–359 (Harmonie-Aphrodite)." Because of the unclear dialogical situation of the first speech of 15.298–362 (Nicaea-Hymnus, see also Whitby 1994, 115), this passage is marked in my database as a soliloquy, followed by a short dialogue of two speeches.

84 See also Wifstrand 1933, 144: "Sehr gewöhnlich ist es auch, dass eine Person des Gedichts eine Rede an eine andere richtet, ohne dass eine Antwort gegeben oder erwartet wird."

	Odyssey	*Iliad*	*Argonautica*	*Posthomerica*	*Dionysiaca*
Most speeches = protagonist?	Odysseus (130×)	Achilles (87×)	Jason (33×)	Neoptolemus (19×)	Dionysus (55×)
9 or more speeches = main characters?	9	17	1 (Medea)	2 (Odysseus and Nestor)	5
4 to 8 speeches	15	20	8	10	14
2 or 3 speeches	13	14	11	15	20
One-time speakers	28	36	25	42	84
Speeches/speakers	546/66 = 8.3	678/88 = 7.7	143/46 = 3.1	175/70 = 2.5	305/124 = 2.5

TABLE 1 *Direct speech in Greek epic: speaking characters*

The number of speaking characters is, of course, also related to factors that could not be rendered in this table but have to be taken into account when interpreting it, such as the complexity of the storyline, the scale of the poem and whether it is a war or a travel narrative.

Unsurprisingly, the character with most speeches is in each case also (arguably) the protagonist of the poem,[85] who is responsible for 10 % (Neoptolemus in the *Posthomerica*) or 12 % (Achilles in the *Iliad*) up to 23 % (Odysseus in the *Odyssey* and Jason in the *Argonautica*) of all speeches in the poem. Dionysus with 55 speeches in the *Dionysiaca* is responsible for 18 % of all. The different quantity categories in this table (9+, 4–8, 2–3 or 1) are, of course, arbitrary and are chosen in function of the situation in the *Dionysiaca*. Arguably, the most important characters after Dionysus himself are Morrheus (13 speeches) and Deriades (9 speeches), commanders of the Indian army, and the Olympian gods Zeus (12 speeches), Hera (12 speeches) and Aphrodite (9 speeches). Because of the differences in scale, it is impossible to establish categories that are equally relevant for each of the five epic poems, but they nonetheless help to explain the averages.[86]

85 In the case of the *Posthomerica*, Neoptolemus' role as protagonist can be up for discussion, because he only appears in the poem for the first time in book 7 (of 14), whereas other heroes like Odysseus (with only 10 speeches) play a decisive role throughout the poem.

86 In the *Odyssey*, for example, a character with only 9 speeches is not necessarily such a very prominent character. The *Odyssey*'s main characters (after Odysseus) each have many more speeches (Telemachus (82), Penelope (47), Athena (36) and Eumaeus (32)), whereas

An interesting result of this character-count is also the observation of an increasingly important number of one-time speakers (among which anonymous speakers and collectives are also counted), which has, of course, its implications for the possibility of character development through speech.

One-time speakers:
Od. 44 % of all speakers, 5 % of all speeches;
Il. 41 % of all speakers, 5 % of all speeches;
Argon. 54 % of all speakers, 17 % of all speeches;
Posth. 60 % of all speakers, 24 % of all speeches;
D. 66 % of all speakers, 27.5 % of all speeches;

On the other hand, the increasing number of one-time speakers can also be related to the decrease in the number of dialogues in Quintus and Nonnus. Even minor characters who only appear in one scene often speak two or three times in Homer, because they are engaged in a longer dialogue (for example, Noemon in *Odyssey* 4 (632–656) or Laodamas in *Odyssey* 8 (133–255)).

In general, my statistical data, providing concrete evidence, confirm and make explicit certain differences between Nonnus and his predecessors that have already been observed in scholarship on Nonnus. Taking the statistical differences as a starting point, it is, however, also possible to investigate the implications of these differences for the presentation of the story in the *Dionysiaca*, which is one of the central objectives of this book.

Objectives and Approaches

In my overview of scholarly developments on Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, I have emphasized the growing consensus among Nonnus scholars that the style and composition of Nonnus' epic poetry should not be judged according to classical norms and classical stylistic principles. The otherness of the *Dionysiaca* when compared to Homer, Apollonius and even the late antique but archaiz-

the other five characters in the category of "9+" (Antinous (23), Alcinous (16), Euryclea (15), Menelaos (13) and Eurymachus (13)) have a much smaller role to play. In the *Argonautica*, on the other hand, many important characters fall in the category of "4–8": Argus, Phineus, Hypsipyle, Peleus, Chalciope and Aetes. On the distinction between "major" and "minor" characters in the *Dionysiaca* and how statistical data like these may or may not be of help to make that distinction (are one-time speakers and silent characters "minor" characters by definition?) see also Verhelst 2016.

ing Quintus has to be understood and appreciated in its late antique context. In the past fifty years, the emphasis on the un-classical aspects of his poetry has brought the discussion of the structure of the *Dionysiaca* to a conclusive turn with a growing emphasis on ποικιλία as an essential principle of composition. The *Dionysiaca* is consequently understood as an epic poem with not one, but multiple intertwined lines of development (cf. Shorrock 2001, 22).

In the previous paragraphs, I have also highlighted the general attention to contextualization in recent contributions to the field. The literary, cultural and educational background of both the author of the poem and his intended audience are important factors that have to be taken into account when interpreting this complex poem. The religious developments of Late Antiquity, and especially the rise of Christianity, are an important part of that cultural background. However, it falls beyond the scope of this work to address specifically the question of the religious background and aspirations of both the author and his audience. Both are here primarily regarded as πεπαιδευμένοι rather than as Christians or pagans.

The above quantitative approach to direct speech in Nonnus and his epic predecessors has to be taken rather as a starting point than as a goal in itself. The real objective of this book is twofold and ties in with both important lines of Nonnus scholarship. On the one hand it is my aim to reveal the interplay in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* between the epic tradition and the contemporary literary context with its clear rhetorical stamp. By comparing and contrasting Nonnus' use of direct speech with that of his epic predecessors, I want to uncover a number of interesting points of difference. When Nonnus engages in a dialogue with his epic models through imitation and allusions, I will consequently not focus on the similarities, but on the creative adaptations and the otherness of Nonnus' equivalents of famous Homeric and Apollonian passages. Parallels in rhetorical theory and practice will be used to put these differences into context and individual speeches will be analysed according to a rhetorical model in order to lay bare the structure of the argumentation. On the other hand, the remarkable differences in comparison with this tradition that have been statistically demonstrated also raise questions regarding their implications for the functions of direct speech in the narrative structure of Nonnus' epic poetry. Drawing on narratological theory, I will try to reveal the implications of these statistical differences, both for the presentation of the story and for how the story may have been perceived by Nonnus' contemporary audience.

I will conclude this introductory chapter with an overview of the following chapters, but before doing so I will briefly explain the methodological choices I have made to approach the subject.

A Comparative Approach

The clear differences between Nonnus and his predecessors in the Greek epic tradition, with which he so markedly enters into dialogue, invite a comparative approach to the subject. The basis for this approach has already been laid out in the previous paragraphs, and especially in the statistical analysis of my epic-speech database. This database can be used not only to make a statistical comparison between the five poems but also to single out speeches and groups of speeches for detailed analysis and comparison, as will be done in the following chapters. Because of Nonnus' engagement with the epic tradition and the sometimes very close imitation of his models, this can, however, never be a neutral comparison, as if it were between unrelated texts, but always has to take into account the effects of the relationship between them and the conventions of the literary tradition—which is, of course, not a problem but rather an extra point of interest. The focus on the epic tradition, moreover, allows for the embedding of my research in the broader scholarship on epic speech, which provides interesting models for analysis.

However, it is not only the epic tradition which will be used for comparison in this book. When relevant for a specific case study, I will also draw parallels between Nonnus' speeches and the historiographical tradition (especially in chapter 2), the novelistic genre (especially in chapter 6) and even the iconographical tradition and its reflection in the *Imagines* of Flavius Philostratus (chapters 4 and 5).

A Narratological Point of View

In order to be able to accurately describe and define speeches and how they are embedded in their narrative context, I have decided to use the terminology that has been developed in narratological theory. Narratology, moreover, also provides a theoretical framework within which to consider the function of speech in the narrative structure. After being applied to Greek epic poetry for the first time by Irene de Jong (1987a, on the *Iliad*), it has proved to be a fruitful model for the analysis of several aspects of the poetic genre.[87] A more recent example of the fruitful application of narratology to epic speech is

87 Richardson's *The Homeric Narrator* (1990) appeared shortly afterwards. It is also possible to refer to de Jong's *Narratological commentary on the Odyssey* (2001) and to the series of edited volumes *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* in which a narratological approach is applied to a broad range of genres, including in each volume contributions on Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns* and Apollonius (de Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004 on "Narrators, Narratees and Narratives", de Jong and Nünlist 2007 on "Time", de Jong 2012 on "Space" and De Temmerman and van Emde Boas forthcoming on "Characterization").

the article by Eleni Volonaki (2013) on the persuasiveness of Jason's speeches in the *Argonautica*. For Nonnus, it is possible to refer to the unpublished doctoral dissertations of Vincent Giraudet (2010) and Camille Geisz (2013), who both use a narratological framework to analyse aspects of the *Dionysiaca* (the organization of time and the figure of the narrator respectively). The speeches in the *Dionysiaca* have thus far not been analysed from a narratological point of view.

De Jong, in her chapter on direct speech in the *Iliad*, draws attention to a couple of basic implications of the occurrence of direct speech in Homer, which can in fact be applied to any (epic) narrative (1987a, 149–194). I will briefly summarize the points that are most important for my approach:

(1) "Characters have a substantial share in the presentation of the story" (1987a, 192), but this, of course, does not mean that the narrator (= primary focalizator) is no longer in control of the narration at that point. As Hunter (1993, 144) puts it, a "kind of fictive reality" is created in which the narratee and ultimately the reader has the impression of eavesdropping on the actual conversations of the characters.

(2) A speech "is an event on the level of the (primary) fabula just like all other actions by characters" (1987a, 149). A speech can be heard by another character, cause a reaction and thus have an influence on further events, but is simultaneously also overheard by the narratee, who is usually better informed (because he hears all the speeches and receives extra information from the narrator), which may result in a situation of dramatic irony: "when words spoken by characters have a different meaning for the NEFE$_1$ [i.e. the narratee] than they have for the characters who speak and hear" (1987a, 149–150).

(3) When the same event is presented through the eyes (= secondary focalization) of different characters it is possible to distinguish different perspectives on the event, according to the character's and his/her addressee's identity and personal involvement (as part of a group or as an individual), but also according to the (rhetorical) purpose of the speech.

(4) When telling a story or in order to reinforce an argument, a character may also quote the words of another character in direct speech, which is then embedded in the character's own speech, in which case it is possible to speak of direct speech with tertiary focalization. The embedded speech has to be analysed both in itself and for its function in the speech in which it is inserted. A character is, moreover, not always a trustworthy secondary narrator but may represent the words of another character "very much from his own point of view" or may even "pretend to quote", while actually

inventing the other's words, as is the case in the so-called "potential τις-speeches" (1987a, 176–177 and 1987b). This subject will be treated at length in chapter 3.

Another aspect I will pay much attention to is how the speeches are introduced and capped by the narrator. These transitional passages between narrator text and character text have been called "attributive discourse" (Prince 1978, de Jong 1987a, 195). In the case of Homer, they consist of highly formulaic phrases or "speech-formulas", a collective term used by de Jong for both "introductory formulas" and "capping formulas" (1987a, 196–197).

However formulaic they may be, these speech-formulas are, as has been convincingly demonstrated, not entirely devoid of meaning. They serve to frame the speech in the narrative and "equip" the narratee with the necessary information to "understand and interpret a speech properly" (de Jong 1987, 207) and often indicate (by the use of an illocutionary verb, an adjective or adverb) "the tone, the contents, or the purpose of the speech" (Edwards 1970, 2).[88]

In imitation of Homer and as part of the epic style, speech formulas (or rather semi-formulized introductory and capping phrases) can also be found in Apollonius, Quintus and Nonnus. Nonnus developed his own "new semi-formulaic system",[89] with more variations than in Homer, but consisting of a number of fixed patterns. In Nonnus the verb of speaking is most often accompanied by a noun, indicating the voice of the speaker or the speech itself (mostly φωνή, ἔπος or μῦθος), combined with an adjective to indicate the tone or intentions of the speech.[90] Often, a participle is also added to indicate the intention of the speaker.[91] In this way, the Nonnian narrator, perhaps even more than is the case in Homer, quite consistently provides information to characterize the speeches and thus guides the interpretation of the speech by the narratee. As Volonaki has convincingly demonstrated, the same can be said about the narrator of the *Argonautica*, who does not leave it to the speeches to speak for themselves but rather "anticipates an interpretation of Jason's speeches by underlining the points of characterization and rhetorical appeal he wishes to" (Volonaki 2013, 55).

88 See also Martin 1989, Riggsby 1992 and Beck 1998.

89 For the introduction of this term see Hopkinson 1994b, 14 and D'Ippolito 2003, 504.

90 On this periphrastic construction, see D'Ippolito 2003 (505–513, esp. 507: "sintagma perifrastico") and more recently 2016, 375–385.

91 A fine example is the participle παρηγορέων/παρηγορέουσα, which is quite consistently used in the speech-formulas of consolatory speeches: 7× in an introductory formula (as an alternative for παρήγορον ἴαχε φωνήν (4×)), 5× in the capping formula.

Interestingly, this phenomenon was commented upon in the *scholia* on Homer, which shows that already in antiquity speech-formulas were regarded as possible clues for the interpretation of the speech. Nünlist (2009, 316) gives the example of the *scholion* on *Od.* 6.148 (αὐτίκα **μειλίχιον** καὶ **κερδαλέον** φάτο μῦθον· "he made a speech both winning and crafty" (transl. Murray 1995^2, my emphasis)), the line immediately preceding Odysseus' first address to Nausicaa:[92]

> προστίθησι δὲ τῷ ἀκροατῇ κανόνα τῶν εἰρησομένων λόγων. εἰσόμεθα δὲ εἰ κεκράτηκε τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.
>
> schol. HPQ on *Od.* 6.148

> He [sc. Homer] confers on the reader beforehand a standard for the following speech. But we will learn ⟨only later⟩ whether he [sc. Odysseus] succeeded with his address.
>
> transl. NÜNLIST 2009

To conclude this paragraph I must also note that although my approach to Nonnus is informed by narratology, it is not strictly narratological. This is most clearly visible in my essentially practical application of the terminology. Although narrator and narratee and poet and reader in narratological terms operate on different narratological levels (the reader is on the level of the enunciation by the poet what the narratee is on the level of the narration by the narrator), I will hereafter only make the distinction between the two levels when especially relevant for the interpretation of a passage.

92 Nünlist 2009, 316–317 also refers to Porph. *Quaest. Hom.* 1.86–87 (Sodano) for a similar remark: Παρατηρεῖν δεῖ ὡς, ὅταν ἐκ προσώπου τινὸς ἐπάγειν λόγους μέλλῃ τινὰς ὁ ποιητής, προλέγει προσημαίνων οἷος ἔσται ὁ λόγος ἢ μεθ'οἵας διαθέσεως λεγόμενος. οὕτω γὰρ ὅρον λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ οἷς αὐτὸς παρήγγειλε τῶν λεγομένων ἀκουσόμεθα. "NB when the poet is about to adduce the speech of a character, he introduces it by giving an initial indication of what the speech will be like or with what attitude is spoken. Thus, taking a reference point from the poet, we will understand the speech with a view to the very things which he himself suggested" (transl. Nünlist 2009). It is also possible to refer to Plutarch (Mor. 18f–19e) in this respect, who argues that morally reprehensible speeches by characters in Homer are not harmful for a young audience because the poet indicates beforehand, by means of the introductory formulas, whether they are good or distasteful.

A Rhetorical Model of Analysis

Rhetorical education is undoubtedly an important part of the shared cultural background of Nonnus and his contemporaries, among whom we have to count both the νέοι with whom he entered into poetical competition (cf. *D.* 25.27: νέοισι και ἀρχεγόνοισιν ἐρίζων) and the audience he wanted to please and impress.

In her article "Poetry and rhetoric", Ruth Webb (1997) convincingly shows the close interaction between rhetorical education and poetical production from the Hellenistic period onwards, of which the development of the genre of the fable is a striking example: it originated in prose (Aesopus) and was used for rhetorical practice as part of the progymnasmata, but in the first centuries A.D. was turned into a poetic genre by Phaedrus (Latin) and Babrius (Greek). Webb concludes (1997, 347):[93]

> The skills developed by exercises such as the *Progymnasmata*, often illustrated by examples drawn from poetry, could be applied by poets and orators alike, but the rhetorical bias of the school exercises may eventually have affected their employment in poetry.

In antiquity, Homer was commonly regarded as the father of rhetoric. Quintilian explicitly refers to him as its source and prime example (*Inst.* 10.1.46). Menander Rhetor, in his treatise on the different types (εἴδη) of epideictic speeches, regularly refers to the speeches in Homer as forerunners of a specific type, as is, for example the case for the farewell speech (συντακτικὸς λόγος, cf. Men. Rhet. 430.12–30, esp. 13: προὔλαβε μὲν οὖν ὁ θεῖος Ὅμηρος καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος). Apollonius' *Argonautica*, on the other hand, could be regarded as the first example of the influence of rhetorical training on the genre of epic poetry. As demonstrated by Volonaki (2013), Jason's heroism lies more in his tact and communication skills, which demonstrate a clear knowledge of rhetorical effect, than in (martial) "heroic" deeds.

Likewise, the exceptional length of Nonnus' speeches as well as the increased use of rhetorical means of persuasion in these speeches (as will be demonstrated) seem to find their logical explanation in the profound rhetorical influence on the poetic production of Late Antiquity (see especially Miguélez Cavero 2008, 191–370). My rhetorical analysis of the speeches of the *Dionysiaca*

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93 Another example often used to illustrate the intertwinement of poetry and rhetoric in Late Antiquity is that of the rhetorician Himerius (4th AD) who extensively drew on Pindar for the composition and style of his orations. See also Kröll (2014, 251 and 260–262) who compares the rhetorical techniques of Nonnus and Himerius.

is primarily informed by ancient rhetorical theory and modern interpretations of this theory (like the informative book on ekphrasis by Ruth Webb (2009)). With regard to ancient theorists, I frequently consulted the progymnasmata handbooks by Theon, (Ps-)Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus, the rhetorical treatises by Menander Rhetor and the *Institutio Oratoria* by Quintilian (especially *Inst.* 5.10 on argumentation).

On the Structure of This Book

In the *Dionysiaca* a total of 305 speeches are rendered in direct speech, embedded speeches not included, comprising together 7,573 of the 21,286 lines of this vast epic poem. Because of the proportions of the subject, a thorough analysis of every instance of direct speech in the *Dionysiaca* would have been both an immense task for me to fulfil, and would most probably have resulted in a quite tedious piece of scholarship for the reader of this book. As a solution, I have chosen to work with case studies, picking a representative number of speeches, and—according to the topic of the chapter in which they are used as an example—approaching the speeches each time from a different angle.

I singled out six topics as particularly interesting for further analysis. The six largely independent, but certainly complementary, essays that are the result of this approach follow in chapters 1 to 6. As mentioned above, part one (chapters 1 to 3) has a more pronounced comparative focus. In these chapters, I intend to show Nonnus both as a fervent imitator of his epic models and as an innovative poet, whose transformation of his epic sources has resulted in a very different kind of epic poetry. Part two (chapters 4 to 6) has a more pronounced narratological focus and pays more attention to the influence of contemporary rhetoric. In this section, one of the most frequently asked questions is "what effect does speech 'x' have for the presentation of the story and to what end is it inserted?"

Overview of Chapters 1–6

Chapter 1. Imitation and Transformation: From Troy to India and from Medea to Morrheus

In this chapter Nonnus' (re)writing process is revealed through a comparison with his models. The episode of the Διὸς ἀπάτη (*D.* 31–35 ~ *Il.* 14–15 and *Argon.* 3) is selected as a case study for its strong imitative engagement with both Homer and Apollonius (and perhaps also Quintus). Not only do the Nonnian adaptations of famous episodes in his predecessors have fewer dialogues and longer speeches; the speeches themselves have also clearly undergone a rhetorical transformation. The speaking characters no longer aim to achieve persuasion

through lies or gifts, but rather by providing rhetorical (albeit often very far-fetched) arguments and making use of (false) πάθος to convince the addressee.

Chapter 2. Types of Epic Speech: The Battle Exhortation

Assuming that Nonnus and his audience shared a knowledge based on tradition of what a battle exhortation conventionally looked like, this chapter compares Nonnus' battle exhortations not only with the exhortations in Homer and Quintus, but also with the practices familiar from the historiographical tradition, fused with rhetoric. Battle exhortations in Nonnus, however, clearly seem to have gained a new place and function in the battle narrative in comparison to the epic tradition. As is clear from my analysis of the different recurring topoi in his exhortations, Nonnus seems to have developed a new typology. Moreover, the examples in which Nonnus inverts or parodies the genre of the battle exhortation clearly show Nonnus as a poet who is aware of the conventions and consequently able to creatively adapt them.

Chapter 3. Speeches within Speeches

This chapter deals with speeches embedded in other speeches and thus with tertiary focalization. The focus lies on a particular type of embedded speech. In scholarship on Homer, speeches within speeches that are quoted as a potential future comment of an anonymous speaker are called "potential τις-speech". Absent from both Apollonius and Quintus, this Homeric device is revived in Nonnus. There are, however, clear differences regarding its use and function: reshaped to become part of his stylistic vocabulary, Nonnus' potential τις-speech seems to be, much more than its Homeric model, a formalized element of style. Moreover, as I will demonstrate in the second part of this chapter, besides potential τις-speech a number of other "potential" embedded speech types can be distinguished in the *Dionysiaca*. Nonnus' characters, for example, quite frequently make use of the rhetorical figure of procatalepsis, anticipating their addressee's reaction by "quoting" possible counter-arguments.

Chapter 4. The Rhetoric of Deception: Persuasive Strategies

In some 20 cases the introductory formula for a speech in the *Dionysiaca* contains a reference to its "deceptive" nature. Only a limited number of these "deceptive" speeches, however, actually contain lies. The label of "deceit" rather seems to draw the reader's attention to the manipulative rhetoric of the speech: the clever argumentation, the construction of a suitable speaker's ἦθος (often a disguise) and the appeal to the addressee's emotions (πάθος). The story of Hera's ruse to kill Semele is used as a case study in this chapter. Interestingly, Nonnus' version of the story contains not one but three successive manipula-

tive speeches: Phthonus to Hera (8.50–102), Hera to Apate (8.126–164) and Hera to Semele (8.207–263).

Chapter 5. Ecphrastic Ethopoeae and the Perspective of the Text-Internal Observer

As has already been observed by Peter Krafft (1975), (minor) characters in the *Dionysiaca* often seem to appear only to deliver a speech, before disappearing again. The speaker does not participate in the action, but comments on the on-going events from an observer's perspective. The speech is not heard by the protagonists and can therefore not have any effect on the course of the events. In this chapter, two types of outsider's comments are closely analysed. In several cases, the commenting character tries to identify the protagonists of the episode on sight by interpreting visual clues and formulating hypotheses. Looking at the protagonists through the eyes of a character "lost in wonder", these speeches not only guide the reader's visualization of the scene, but are also demonstrations of the art of the interpreter and invite the reader to reflect on his own readership and on his interpretation and visualization of the events in the poem.

The second group of speeches singled out for analysis are all pronounced from a divine bird's-eye perspective. In each of these cases a god or (more often) a goddess comments on the events from on high, but without intervening. The (sneering) comments of these divinities add a different perspective to the story, which often presents a contrast to the general tone of the episode and/or the tone of the comments of the ignorant observers below.

Chapter 6. Rhetoric of Seduction and Failure of Communication in the Beroe Episode

The final chapter shows that the persuasive strategies of the characters in the *Dionysiaca* are not always successful. In the Beroe episode, Dionysus (4×) and Poseidon (1×) address Beroe several times in order to win her heart, but without any success. Dionysus' first three speeches are introduced by the narrator as deceitful. Instead of directly affirming his love to her, he uses vegetation metaphors and tries to flatter her by ostensibly mistaking her for Artemis. Beroe, however, fails to catch his (literary) imagery and does not understand his intentions. In this way, her eventual rejection of his love is postponed until after his fourth speech, an explicit proposal of marriage. Much attention is paid to the effect of dramatic irony in this episode and the accumulation of variations of the "rhetoric of seduction" as an effect of Beroe's postponed rejection.

PART 1

Epic Speech in Transformation

CHAPTER 1

Imitation and Transformation: From Troy to India and from Medea to Morrheus

This chapter presents a first exploration of the difference in use and function of direct speech in Nonnus when compared to the Greek epic tradition. In order to make this comparison, I have chosen to focus on an episode in which Nonnus pays homage to the tradition through extensive imitation. The imitative context not only provides clear parallels that give grounds for comparison, but also allows an emphasis on the problematic nature of any comparison between an imitator and his model. The complex interplay between imitation and innovation always has to be taken into account.

The episode chosen as a case study in this chapter is selected for its strong engagement with both Homer and Apollonius. There may be a reference to Quintus as well, but this is less certain. In books 31–35 of the *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus creatively rewrites Homer's Διὸς ἀπάτη episode (*Iliad* 14–15). Hera, favouring the Indians, seduces Zeus in order to put him to sleep. Meanwhile, she strikes Dionysus with madness and thus weakens the Bacchic troops. Nonnus' version contains parallels for almost every detail in Homer, but the order of events (encounter with Hypnus, encounter with Aphrodite and dressing scene) has been changed and Hera's search for allies (only involving Hypnus in the *Iliad*) has become much more complex (now involving Persephone, Megaera, Iris and Hypnus).[1] Nonnus seems to have intentionally included a few surprises for his learned audience, which is assumed to be highly familiar with the story from the *Iliad*. The audience's expectations will be thwarted, when, after the Iliadic start of this new Διὸς ἀπάτη (*D.* 31.24–30 ~ *Il.* 14.153–165), Hera, instead of summoning Aphrodite (*Il.* 14.187–223), descends into Hades in order to speak with Persephone (*D.* 31.30–74). Afterwards, she plots with Megaera (*D.* 31.75–102) and searches for Iris (*D.* 31.103–107). From then on, Nonnus gradually moves back to his Homeric model. Hera's dialogue with Hypnus is heavily adapted (*D.* 31.103–198 ~ *Il.* 14.224–291), with a new role for Iris as mediator. After the scene with Hypnus, there follows a subtle imitation of the encounter of Hera and Aphrodite (*D.* 31.199–32.9 ~ *Il.* 14.187–223) and, finally, a humorous adapta-

1 For a comparative overview of the main structure of Homer's and Nonnus' Διὸς ἀπάτη, see Vian 1997, 40–45 and Hopkinson 1994b, 31–32.

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tion of Hera's encounter with Zeus (*D.* 32.38–97 ~ *Il.* 14.292–353). I will return to these final three episodes below.

Nonnus' most important structural change is his insertion of a love story within the Homeric frame (while Zeus is asleep, 33.4–35.222), which in its turn can be read as an adaptation of the story of Jason and Medea in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 3.[2] But with the gender roles inverted: Morrheus, the son-in-law and second-in-command of the Indian king Deriades falls in love with Chalcomede, the prettiest Bacchante in Dionysus' army, and is willing to betray the Indian cause for her. Interestingly, Aphrodite, who first helped Hera to lull Zeus asleep, is the instigator of this new plot, designed to reduce the damage done to Dionysus' army during his madness. Most parallels with Apollonius are found in the introductory part of this story, in the roles of Aphrodite and Eros (*D.* 33.4–194 ~ *Argon.* 3.6–298), but there are also clear parallels in several details of the love story itself.

The third possible case of imitation of an epic predecessor occurs during one of the battles in this episode. Nonnus here very briefly zooms in on one anonymous Indian soldier falling in love with the Bacchante he has just killed (35.21–78). The explicit reference to Achilles and Penthesilea (and some minor textual parallels) in this necrophilia scene may suggest a link with Quintus (cf. *Posth.* 1.716–747).[3]

In imitation of Nonnus, I will move in this chapter from Homer through Apollonius to Quintus. In the first part, I present a comparative analysis of the dialogues in the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη episode and their Nonnian counterparts. The second part treats Nonnus' imitation of Apollonius, no longer focussing on dialogues, but on individual speeches. The last part deals with the necrophilia scene, for which I also investigate a parallel in contemporary rhetoric, because in Nonnus' epic models no direct equivalent can be found for the speech of the anonymous Indian soldier.

1.1 Speeches and Dialogues in the Διὸς ἀπάτη Episode

The Διὸς ἀπάτη (books 31–32) is one of the episodes in the *Dionysiaca* written in closest imitation of Homer and probably the only episode in which

2 On the influence of Apollonius in the *Dionysiaca*, see esp. Vian 2001, on this episode 304–305. For the most extensive discussion of the (parodic) use of Apollonius in this specific episode, see Montenz 2004. See also Agosti 2004, 465 and Gerlaud 2005, 49–50.

3 On the possible influence of Quintus on Nonnus, see Whitby 1994, 114–118, Shorrock 2007 and Maciver 2016. On this specific passage, see Frangoulis 2006a, 5–9 and notes ad loc.

the speeches of the model are imitated to such a high degree.[4] Whereas it is clear from the statistical data provided in the introduction that real dialogical exchange is very rare in the *Dionysiaca*, two such "real" dialogues, each consisting of three speeches (the longest type of dialogue found in the *Dionysiaca*), closely follow one another in this episode. Both are clear imitations of the Homeric model. The relatively high concentration of dialogues in this episode seems, therefore, certainly no statistical coincidence, but has to be interpreted in relation to the imitative context, which, as a matter of fact, also points to the difficulties inherent to the interpretion of statistical data on poetry.

Notwithstanding the imitative context, the general tendency in Nonnus towards longer and fewer speeches can still be observed in this episode. A comparison with Homer (see also the tables 1.1–3 below) shows that in each case the number of speeches is reduced (twice going from five to three),[5] but the length of the speeches makes up for their smaller numbers. The dialogue between Hera and Aphrodite in Nonnus, for example, may consist of two fewer speeches than in Homer, but it has almost three times as many lines. Moreover, because Nonnus is imitating both Homer and Apollonius for this dialogue (table 2, see also below in paragraph 1.1.1), this reduction is not merely one from five (Homer) to three (Nonnus) speeches, but at the same time also one from seven (Apollonius) to three (Nonnus). The imitation of Homer in the dialogue between Hera and Zeus, on the other hand, has been applied so rigidly

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4 Other episodes that are written in clear imitation of Homer are: the catalogue of troops in *D*. 13.53–14.227 and 26.38–365 ~ *Il*. 2.484–877, the battle with the river in *D*. 22.136–24.122 ~ *Il*. 21.1–382, the theomachia in *D*. 36.1–133 ~ *Il*. 21.383–513 and the funeral games in *D*. 37.1–778 ~ *Il*. 23.257–897. Apart from the catalogues, which hardly contain any speeches, these episodes all contain speeches that are to a certain extent "equivalent" to their counterparts in Homer. A few examples: *D*. 23.165–191 (river Hydaspes to his "brother") ~ *Il*. 21.308–323 (river Scamander to river Simoeis), *D*. 36.48–77 (Hera mocks Artemis on the battlefield) ~ *Il*. 21.481–488 (Hera mocks Artemis on the battlefield), *D*. 36.110–132 (Hermes tries to reconcile Apollo and Poseidon) ~ *Il*. 21.436–467 (dialogue of reconciliation between Apollo and Poseidon), *D*. 37.176–223 (Aristaeus gives his son Actaeon advice for the race) ~ *Il*. 23.306–348 (Nestor gives his son Antilochus advice for the race), and *D*. 37.773–774 (Dionysus stops the hoplomachia) ~ *Il*. 23.735–737 (Achilles stops the wrestling match). In most of these cases a short dialogue in Homer is replaced by a single speech in Nonnus. See also Vian 1991 and Hopkinson 1994b on the Homeric reminiscences in these episodes.

5 See also Vian 1997, 41–42: "Si les deux poètes accordent une grande place aux discours, chacun les conçoit selon son style propre. Homère compose trois véritables dialogues comprenant quatre ou cinq répliques, le plus souvent brèves. Nonnos préfère donner la parole seulement au solliciteur et, quand il y a dialogue, celui-ci se limite à trois répliques. D'une manière générale, les discours s'allongent [...]. La rhétorique prime sur le dialogue dramatique."

TABLE 2 *The dialogue between Hera and Aphrodite*

Iliad 14	*Argonautica* 3	*Dionysiaca* 31–32
Hera and Aphrodite (5 speeches, 24 lines)	**Hera, Athena and Aphrodite (7 speeches, 49 lines)**	**Hera and Aphrodite (3 speeches, 74 lines)**
190–192 (3) Hera: asks for help (general request). 194–196 (3) Aphrodite: promises to help, asks for information. Emphasizes own weakness. 198–210 (13) Hera: formulates a more detailed request, pronounces a lying tale (= false motive). 212–213 (2) Aphrodite: grants the request. 219–221 (3) Aphrodite: hands over the cestus.	52–54 (3) Aphrodite: greets and mocks visitors. Asks for their motive. 56–75 (20) Hera: explains concerns. 79–82 (4) Aphrodite: promises to help, asks for details. Emphasizes own weakness. 84–89 (6) Hera: formulates a more detailed request. 91–99 (9) Aphrodite: laments own impotence. 102–105 (4) Aphrodite: promises to try. 108–110 (3) Hera: gives good advice.	31.212–227 (16) Aphrodite: greets and mocks visitor. Tries to guess her motive. 31.229–282 (54) Hera: explains concerns, formulates a detailed request. 32.5–8 (4) Aphrodite: hands over the cestus.

that the equivalent speeches in the model and the adaptation here have the same number of lines (table 4).[6] In other passages, however, Nonnus more freely adapts the structure of the dialogue in his model. In his adaptation of the dialogue between Hypnus and Hera in Homer (table 3), dialogue has been replaced by a sequence of two persuasive monologues.

The three tables presented here schematically compare these three dialogues in the *Iliad* and their equivalents in (Apollonius and) Nonnus.[7] In the following paragraphs, I will look at two of these three cases in further detail (Hera and Aphrodite in 1.1.1 and Hera and Hypnus in 1.1.2) in order to reveal

6 This has also been noticed by Vian 1997, 78.

7 The length of the speech in lines is indicated in brackets.

TABLE 3 *The dialogue between Hera and Hypnus*

Iliad 14	*Dionysiaca* 31
Hera and Hypnus (4 speeches, 41 lines)	**Hera to Iris (1 speech)**
233–241 (9) Hera: formulates a detailed request, promises a reward. 243–262 (20) Hypnus: refuses (fear). Refers to previous occasion and interference of Nyx.	110–123 (14) Hera: gives detailed instruction to persuade Hypnus in the guise of Nyx and to promise a reward (= Pasithea).
264–269 (6) Hera: soothes him, promises better reward (= Pasithea).	**Iris/Nyx to Hypnus (1 speech)**
271–276 (6) Hypnus: requests an oath. (278–279 Hera swears an oath, no direct speech)	136–190 (55) Iris/Nyx: persuades Hypnus.

TABLE 4 *The dialogue between Zeus and Hera*

Iliad 14	*Dionysiaca* 32
Hera and Zeus (5 speeches, 44 lines)	**Hera and Zeus (3 speeches, 31 lines)**
298–299 (2) Zeus: asks for her motive for coming.	42–45 (4) Zeus: asks for her motive for coming (+ guesses).
301–312 (11) Hera: lies (= false motive).	48–58 (11) Hera: lies (= false motive).
313–328 (16) Zeus: proposes to have sex.	60–75 (16) Zeus: proposes to have sex.
330–340 (11) Hera: refuses (shame), makes a counterproposal.	
342–345 (4) Zeus: soothes her.	

some of Nonnus' rewriting and restructuring processes. Although it appears later in the chronology of the *Dionysiaca* (but earlier in the chronology of the *Iliad*), I will first discuss Hera's encounter with Aphrodite, thus moving from the examination of a relatively faithful imitation to that of a more drastic transformation of the Iliadic model.

1.1.1 *Hera and Aphrodite*

The dialogue in Nonnus between Hera and Aphrodite provides us with a remarkably complex example of Nonnus' engagement with his epic models (see table 2). Nonnus combines elements from Homer with elements from the encounter between Aphrodite, Athena and Hera in *Argonautica* 3, which, in turn, could also be seen as a reworked version of the same passage in Homer.[8] As was noted by Francis Vian, Nonnus models the start of the dialogue on Apollonius' version, in which Aphrodite, laughing teasingly, questions her visitors on the reason for their visit.[9] Whereas Apollonius' Aphrodite (*Argon.* 3.52–54), however, does so by merely asking a simple question, Nonnus' Aphrodite (*D.* 31.212–227) also answers her own question with a series of hypotheses while trying to read the feigned signs of sadness on Hera's face. Her suspicion is that Hera's distress is caused by yet another act of infedility of Zeus and so Aphrodite teases Hera by asking whether it is a new Danae (214), Europa (215–216), Antiope (216–218), Dia (219–220), Semele (221–222) or Io (223–225) he has now run away with.

By expanding on the welcoming speech of Apollonius' Aphrodite, Nonnus thus introduces a rhetorical topos that within the frame of the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode will also be reused in the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode (rewriting the story of Jason and Medea).[10] The same topos also appears in two other episodes in the *Dionysiaca* in which the same episode of Homer and/or Apollonius is more loosely imitated. Is it just a rhetorical element of style, or does its occurrence in all three episodes also underline the connections between them?[11]

8 On Apollonius imitating *Il.* 14 in *Argon.* 3.6–298, see Lennox 1980 and Knight 1995, 294. A similar example of Nonnus imitating Homer and Apollonius' imitation of Homer simultaneously is the shield ekphrasis (*D.* 25.380–572), which in the description of Amphion and Zethus is reminiscent of the Amphion and Zethus scene in the ekphrasis of Jason's mantle (*Argon.* 1.721–768), which as a whole is, in turn, of course reminiscent of that of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.478–608). See also Vian 2001, 298.

9 Vian 1997, 56: "Désormais, l'imitation d'Apollonios, déjà perceptible précédemment, va concurrencer celle d'Homère."

10 In book 33 (28–40), the same Aphrodite tries again to read a sad face, this time Pasithea's, and speculates what has happened to explain the sadness. Afterwards Eros is tricked by Aglaea into helping Aphrodite with a vague distress call. Eros reacts (33.118–139) with a catalogue of questions and hypothetical answers guessing at the reason for his mother's distress (see also below under 1.2.1). Later in the narrative about Morrheus and Chalcomede, Hyssacus (Morrheus' witty servant) similarly speculates about the reason for his master's strange behaviour (34.27–47).

11 Apart from the instances of this rhetorical topos in books 8, 31–35 and 48, it is also found in

(1) In book 8, Hera wants to trick Semele into asking Zeus to reveal himself to her as a god. In order to prepare herself to persuade Semele, Nonnus' Hera first asks Apate for her cestus (with similar powers as that of Aphrodite) in a dialogue with two speeches: request (8.126–164) and answer (8.166–175). This passage, with clear allusions to the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη (see also chapter 4.3), is a playful addition by Nonnus to the canonical story of Semele.[12] With the cestus, Hera then approaches the pregnant Semele in the guise of an old servant and questions her teasingly on the reasons for her changed looks, meanwhile giving hypothetical answers to her own questions (8.207–263, 57 lines).

(2) In book 48 Artemis finds herself insulted by the young huntress Aura and seeks revenge. Just like Hera in book 8, Artemis surprisingly seems to be unable to take revenge without the help of another deity. In this case, the other deity is Nemesis. Although there are no textual parallels, the dialogue between the two goddesses is clearly modelled after the dialogue of Hera and Aphrodite in books 31–32: Nemesis greets her visitor, asks questions about Artemis' distress and guesses after its cause (48.392–413, 22 lines). Artemis replies with a pathetical lament and a request for help (48.416–438, 23 lines). Nemesis grants her help willingly, but suggests a different kind of punishment (48.440–448, 9 lines).[13] Like most of the Aura episode, this encounter between Artemis and Nemesis also seems to be invented by Nonnus.[14]

Let us return to the dialogue between Aphrodite and Hera. After this remarkable opening address by Aphrodite, the obvious parallels with Homer and Apol-

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18.340–368. Here, Dionysus tries to guess the reason for Methe's grief after the death of her husband. A variation of the same rhetorical pattern is also recurrent in Nonnus. It can be found in a distinctive group of speeches that occur throughout the *Dionysiaca*: each time hypotheses are formulated about the identity of a beautiful stranger (ex. 1.93–124: a sailor speculates about the identity of Europa). This specific type of speech will be discussed in chapter 5.2.

12 Cf. Chuvin 1992, 189–190, Gigli Piccardi 2003, 584–589 and Sánchez Ortiz de Landaluce 2009.

13 This dialogue is also one of the six dialogues in the *Dionysiaca* that consist of three speeches.

14 For the discussion on the sources for this episode, see Vian 2003, 27–28. The same topos is also used later on in the Aura episode, when Artemis (48.752–782), knowing very well what has happened, teasingly questions Aura on her changed looks due to pregnancy, very similar to Hera's speech to Semele in 8.207–283. On this episode, see also Lightfoot 1998 and Hadjittofi 2008.

lonius bring about the expectations that Hera will now reply and (a) ask for help, (b) explain what kind of help she requests and (c) explain the reason for her request. As can be seen in table 2 above, these three elements in the *Iliad* and the *Argonautica* are spread over two speeches by Hera, in both cases interrupted by one speech by Aphrodite who promises help and asks for more information. In Nonnus, Hera only speaks once. It is interesting to compare Hera's speeches in all three epics. Homer's Hera uses a lying tale to convince Aphrodite to help her. They are opponents in the Trojan War and Aphrodite would not voluntarily agree to favour the Greeks. For Apollonius' Hera the circumstances are easier. Aphrodite is not involved in the conflict between Jason and Pelias and is willing to help Hera in order to pay her the respect due to her as the wife of Zeus. Hera only has to provide an explanation for her own support to the Argonauts.

Nonnus' Hera is clearly the most rhetorically skilled manipulator of the three. Although the introductory formula, with its reference to a ruse, may raise this expectation (*D.* 31.228: Ὣς φαμένην δολόεντι θεὰ προσπτύξατο μύθῳ), her speech (*D.* 31.299–282) is not a reworked version of the lying tale of Homer's.[15] At first sight, it seems to be designed with the same purposes as that of Apollonius' Hera, namely motivating her own feelings towards Jason/Dionysus. She does so by means of a long, pathetical lamentation (40 of the 54 lines of the speech), before articulating the actual request in the last 14 lines. The structural imbalance of the composition and the many exclamations and changes of subject underline the effect of πάθος in the speech, as if Hera's emotional involvement does not allow her to organize her thoughts.

But is this really the case? The rhetorical strength of the speech lies hidden beneath this veneer of πάθος. Subtly, the lamentation and plea include arguments for Aphrodite to be loyal to Hera (and to Hera's son and Aphrodite's second husband Ares), to share Hera's dislike for Dionysus and to share her goodwill for the Indians. The δόλος lies in the subtlety of the rhetoric and in the misleading self-characterization of Hera, who acts in this well-prepared

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15 Nonnus does, however, insert an amusing lying tale in the dialogue between Zeus and Hera later on (32.48–58). Whereas Homer twice uses the same story, Nonnus uses it only once. Apart from the fact that the specific lying tale used in Nonnus to persuade Zeus would probably not have had the intended effect on Aphrodite (she would probably not believe Hera's story about Eros, nor would she leave it to Hera to fix a problem concerning her son), the divergence from the Iliadic pattern can also be interpreted as a pursuit of variation. See also Vian 1997, 59: "Si la déesse use partout d'artifices rhétoriques quand elle formule ses griefs, elle ne dissimule jamais son dessein à la différence de l'Héra homérique qui ment à Aphrodite pour obtenir son ceste."

penultimate stage of her ruse (after already having conspired with Persephone, Megaera, Iris and Hypnus) as if overpowered by fear and anger.[16]

Κύπρι θεά, θνητοῖσιν ἐάσσομεν οὖδας Ὀλύμπου.
230 Ζεὺς Σεμέλην ἐς Ὄλυμπον ἀνήγαγε, μητέρα Βάκχου,
ἄξει καὶ Διόνυσον ἐς αἰθέρα. Τίς δόμος Ἥρην
δέξεται; Ἢ τίνα χῶρον ἐλεύσομαι; Αἰδέομαι δέ,
μὴ Σεμέλην ἐσίδοιμι νόθην βασίλειαν Ὀλύμπου.
Δείδια, ***μὴ*** ζοφόεντος ἴδω δόμον Ἰαπετοῖο,
235 ***μή*** με λαβὼν ἐλάσειε μετὰ Κρόνον ἐκτὸς Ὀλύμπου.
238 Δείδια, ***μὴ*** μετὰ γαῖαν ἐν αἰθέρι νέκταρ ⟨ἐλέγ⟩χων
ἄμπελον, ἣν καλέουσι, καὶ ἐν μακάρεσσι φυτεύσῃ.
240 ***Μὴ*** ποτε τοῦτο γένοιτο, Δίκη καὶ Γαῖα καὶ Ὕδωρ.
Κλήματα ***μὴ*** κομίσειεν ἐς αἰθέρα, ***μὴ*** χάριν εὐνῆς
οὐρανὸν ἀμπελόεντα μετ᾽ ἀστερόεντα καλέσσω·
μηδὲ πίω ποτὸν ἄλλο μετὰ γλυκὺ νέκταρ Ὀλύμπου.
Δείδια, ***μὴ*** μενέχαρμον ἴδω μεθύουσαν Ἀθήνην,
245 ***μὴ*** δόρυ κουφίσσειεν ἐπ᾽ Ἄρεϊ καὶ Κυθερείῃ,
μὴ σφαλερῇ ῥαθάμιγγι νοοσφαλέος Διονύσου
αἰθέρι τολμήεσσαν ἀναστήσωσιν ἐνυώ
ἀστέρες οἰνοπλῆγες ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι μανέντες,
μή ποτε βακχευθέντες ὅσοι ναετῆρες Ὀλύμπου
250 ὄργια μιμήσαιντο φερεσσακέων Κορυβάντων.
252 Οὐχ ἅλις αἶσχος ἐκεῖνο θεοστυγὲς ὅττι δοκεύω
251 Τρώιον ἡβητῆρα, Διὸς δρηστῆρα κυπέλλων,
253 οὐρανὸν αἰσχύνοντα καὶ οἰνοχόον Διὸς Ἥβην,
χερσὶν ἐπιχθονίῃσιν ὅτε γλυκὺ νέκταρ ἀφύσσει;
255 Αἰδομένη δ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐλεύσομαι· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ
αἰθέρα καλλείψω, Γανυμήδεϊ καὶ Διονύσῳ·
αἰθέρα καλλείψω, Σεμέλης δόμον. εἷς δόμος ἔστω
οὐρανὸς ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ Περσέι καὶ Διονύσῳ.
Ἵξομαι εἰς ἐμὸν Ἄργος, ἐς ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ Μυκήνης,
260 ἐν χθονὶ ναιετάουσα· σὺν ἀχνυμένῃ δὲ τεκούσῃ
ἕσπεται αὐτὸς Ἄρης, σέο νυμφίος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
Σπάρτης σῆς ἐπίβηθι, καὶ εὐθώρηκα δεχέσθω

16 The high number of speeches introduced in the *Dionysiaca* with a reference to a δόλος but without containing an actual ruse is remarkable. Earlier in the same episode, Hera's speech to Persephone, in which she uses a similar rhetorical strategy, is also introduced with the words δολόφρονι δ᾽ ἴαχε μύθῳ (31.31). See also chapter 4.

χαλκείην σὺν Ἄρηι χολωομένην Ἀφροδίτην.
Οἶδα πόθεν μεθέπω τάδε πήματα· πατρὸς Ἐριννύς
ὕβριν ἀπαιτίζει με βιαζομένοιο τοκῆος,
ὅττι Κρόνου γενετῆρος ἐπιβρίζουσα κυδοιμῷ
σὺν Διὶ μαρναμένῳ Τιτηνιὰς ἔχραεν Ἥρη.
Καλὸν ἐμοὶ Διόνυσον ἰδεῖν κατὰ μέσσον Ὀλύμπου
ἥμενον ἐγγὺς Ἔρωτος, ὁμέστιον Ἀφρογενείῃ,
αἰγίδα κουφίζοντα μετὰ Κρονίδην καὶ Ἀθήνην.—
Ἀλλά, θεά, χραίσμησον, ἐμῆς δ' ἐπίκουρον ἀνίης
273 δός μοι κεστὸν ἱμάντα, τεὴν πανθελγέα μίτρην,
ἐς μίαν ἠριγένειαν, ὅπως Διὸς ὄμματα θέλξω,
274 καὶ Διὸς ὑπνώοντος ἐμοῖς Ἰνδοῖσιν ἀρήξω.
236 Δισσὴ ἐγὼ γενόμην ἑκυρὴ σέθεν· ἡμετέρου γάρ
237 υἱέος Ἡφαίστοιο καὶ Ἄρεος ἔπλεο νύμφη.
Δὸς χάριν ὀψιτέλεστον, ἐπεὶ κυανόχροες Ἰνδοί
ξεινοδόκοι γεγάασιν Ἐρυθραίης Ἀφροδίτης,
οἷς κοτέων Διόνυσος ἐπέχραεν, οἷσι καὶ αὐτός
θηλυμανὴς ἄστοργος ἐχώσατο παιδοτόκος Ζεύς,
καὶ στεροπὴν ἐλέλιξε συναιχμάζων Διονύσῳ.
Δός μοι κεστὸν ἱμάντα βοηθόον, ᾧ ἔνι μούνῳ
θέλγεις εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα· καὶ ἄξιός εἰμι φορέσσαι,
ὡς Ζυγίη γεγαυῖα καὶ ὡς συνάεθλος Ἐρώτων.

Cypris goddess, we must leave the ground of Olympos for mortals. Zeus has brought to Olympos Semele the mother of Bacchos, and he will bring Dionysos himself to heaven. What mansion will receive Hera? To what place shall I go? I am ashamed lest I behold Semele, the usurping queen of Olympos. I fear he may take me and drive me out of Olympos like Cronos, and I may have to see the dark house of Iapetos. I fear he may shame the nectar, and bring from earth what they call the vine, to plant it in heaven even among the Blessed. O Justice, O Earth, O Water, let this never be! May he never bring its twigs to heaven! that I should speak of the Viny Sky instead of the Starry Sky, in honour of the grape! that I should ever quaff another drink after the sweet nectar of Olympos! I fear to see warlike Athena drunken, shaking her spear against Ares and Cythereia—the stars wineshotten and maddened against each other, arousing reckless battle in heaven with the staggering drops of mindshaking Dionysos—all that dwell in Olympos infuriated, and mimicking the revels of carryshield Corybants! Is it not shame enough, an impious thing, that I see the Trojan boy cup-lackey to Zeus, disgracing heaven and Hebe cupbearer of Zeus,

> when he ladles sweet nectar with human hands? Yes, I will go in my shame to earth; heaven I will leave to those two, Ganymedes and Dionysos—heaven I will leave, the home of Semele! Let heaven be common home for those two, Perseus and Dionysos. I will retire to my Argos, to the glorious city of Mycene, and I will settle on earth. With his unhappy mother will go Ares himself, your bridegroom. Come yourself too, and set foot in your Sparta, and let Sparta receive in her harness brazen Aphrodite in her anger along with Ares. I know where I get these troubles from. My father's Avenger demands bloodprice from me for violence done to a father, because Hera the Titan's daughter took strong part in the war against Cronos her father and helped Zeus in his fight. A fine thing for me to see Dionysos sitting in the midst of Olympos beside Eros, at the same table as the Foamborn, bearing the aegis once borne by Cronides and Athena. Help me, goddess, I pray! Lend me to aid my need your cestus band, your allcharming belt, just for one day—that I may charm the eyes of Zeus, and while Zeus slumbers I may help my Indians. I am twice your goodmother, for you have been bride of my Hephaistos and Ares both. Grant this boon at last; for the blackskin Indians have always hospitably entertained Erythreian Aphrodite, and these Indians Dionysos has assailed in his fury, on these Indians Zeus has wreaked his anger—Zeus the womanmad, the heartless, Zeus the bearer of children, he has battled for Dionysos and cast his lightnings upon them! Lend me your cestus band to help, with which alone you charm all in one! I am worthy to wear it, patroness of wedlock and fellowhelper of the Loves.

An attentive reader will notice the clever choice of words and the many references to Aphrodite as Hera's "natural ally":

(1) Hera starts her lamentation in the first person plural, implicitly including her addressee among the victims of the situation, who are driven from Olympus by Zeus' mortal loved ones (229).
(2) In the next part of her lamentation (234–250), Hera lists a catalogue of her fears (with anaphoric repetition of δείδια (3×) and μή (11×)) during which she subtly emphasizes her concern for her addressee, who is mentioned beside her husband Ares, Hera's favourite son: μὴ δόρυ κουφίσσειεν ἐπ' Ἄρεϊ καὶ Κυθερείῃ (245). Aphrodite and Ares are of course also included in ὅσοι ναετῆρες Ὀλύμπου (249).
(3) In 255, Hera turns back to her first idea of leaving Olympus, now with a destination in mind: Argos. Her son Ares will follow his mother and is called, again referring to her addressee σέο νυμφίος (260). Continuing

along the same lines, she involves her addressee even further, by advising her to follow Ares to Sparta (261–263).[17] Very subtle is her use of the participle χολωομένην for Aphrodite, implying that Aphrodite now certainly shares Hera's anger (cf. 260: ἀχνυμένῃ) at Dionysus and Semele.

(4) Then, suddenly, Hera finds fault with herself and explains her present troubles with a far-fetched argument based on a mythological analogy as the punishment for her earlier actions: once she helped Zeus defeat Cronus, now she has to witness Dionysus overthrowing Zeus (264–267). She shivers at the idea of seeing how Dionysus will sit on the throne and share the company of the Olympians. Again Aphrodite herself and someone dear to her (now Eros instead of Ares) are mentioned as the victims of the situation, for Dionysus is unrightfully put on the same footing as them (268–270).

(5) In line 271, Hera finally makes her plea for help, respectfully addressing Aphrodite as θεά. She explicitly mentions what she needs (the cestus, only for one day) and what she will do with it (lull Zeus asleep and meanwhile help the Indians). After this plea, some more arguments follow, now freely arguing Hera's case:

a. Hera now explicitly mentions her family ties with Aphrodite, who has married not one but two of her sons: Δισσὴ ἐγὼ γενόμην ἑκυρὴ σέθεν (236).[18]
b. She motivates her to help the Indians, by reminding her of their hospitality: ξεινοδόκοι γεγάασιν Ἐρυθραίης Ἀφροδίτης (276).
c. She justifies her own request to wear the cestus, because of her function as a protectress of marriages: ὡς ζυγίη γεγαυῖα (282).
d. And, just as in the first part of her speech, Hera, subtly tries to win Aphrodite's sympathy, this time by flattering her by emphasizing the enormous powers of the cestus: ᾧ ἔνι μούνῳ | θέλγεις εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα (280–281)

17 On the recurring argument of Hera and Ares' flight from Olympus, see also chapter 4.3.

18 Lines 236–237, transmitted after 235, and thus in the first part of Hera's speech, were transposed to the more argumentative part of her speech by Graefe (1826), a solution accepted by almost all later editors. Only in Keydell's edition (1959) do the two lines remain after 235 "because they seem to fit nowhere", and consequently are marked as spurious (Keydell ad loc.: "Versibus 236–237 neque huic neque alii loco aptis vs. expulsus esse videtur, in quo Bacchi mentio fiebat."). In my opinion, however, the original position of the lines (after 235) could be maintained. Because of the many functional (cf. πάθος) swift changes of subject in the speech, this abrupt transition can also be explained in this way.

After Hera's speech, book 32 opens with an indication of Aphrodite's consent. The capping formula—again—puts emphasis on the wily character of Hera's speech (but also on Aphrodite's own wiliness): Ὣς φαμένη παρέπεισε· δολοφράδμων δ' Ἀφροδίτη | πείθετο κερδοσύνῃσιν (1–2).[19] It is immediately followed by a new speech by Aphrodite, who hands over the cestus.[20] Once more, two speeches (in both Homer and Apollonius) are replaced by only one speech in Nonnus (see table 2). While describing the power of the cestus, Aphrodite seems to echo Hera's earlier (complimentary) description of it: θέλξεις δ' εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα (32.6) ~ θέλγεις εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα (31.281). After being persuaded, Aphrodite thus quite literally quotes from the very speech by which she is persuaded. Can this verbal repetition be read as a sign that Hera's persuasive strategies have been effective?

Finally, if the dialogue is considered in its entirety, one more structural difference can be noticed between Nonnus and his predecessors. In Nonnus, the dialogue is centred around one longer (rhetorically elaborate and persuasive) speech, "introduced" and "capped" by two much shorter speeches (see also table 2). With its 54 lines, Hera's speech can be seen as the structural counterpart of the long speech of Iris/Nyx to Hypnus (55 lines), which is discussed in the next paragraph.

1.1.2 *Hera and Hypnus*

My second example shows that close imitation of what is a dialogue in the *Iliad* does not necessarily lead to a dialogue in Nonnus, or at least not one fully rendered in direct speech. *Il.* 14.224–291, in which Hera persuades Hypnus to help her, is thoroughly rewritten by Nonnus, but despite the differences the Nonnian equivalent still has the same function in the story of the Διὸς ἀπάτη: Hera manages to obtain the help of Hypnus in order to put Zeus asleep.

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19 Cf. Vian 1997, 75–76 for a discussion on how to interpret the dative κερδοσύνῃσιν in this case, which I have interpreted as referring to Hera's ruse. It is interpreted differently (with a reference to Aphrodite's own perfidy) in both Vian's (1997) and Agosti's (2004) translation of this passage. The reference to Aphrodite's wiliness (δολοφράδμων) may, in any case, be interpreted as a first hint at the deceitful countermove she will make in book 33.

20 Nonnus has a remarkably high number of speeches expressing the "handing over" of something: 8.166–175 (Apate to Hera, cestus), 9.61–91 (Hermes to Ino, baby Dionysus), 9.149–154 (Hermes to Rhea, baby Dionysus), 17.74–80 (Dionysus to Brongos, wine), 32.5–8 (Aphrodite to Hera, cestus), 34.92–98 (Chalcomede (dream) to Morrheus, bride), 34.196–197 (Morrheus to Deriades, spoils), 44.73–79 (Agave (dream) to Cadmus, head of Pentheus), 46.221–238 (Agave to Cadmus, head of Pentheus), 47.45–55 (Dionysus to Icarius, wine), 48.279–283 (Eros (dream) to Aphrodite, Aura).

In the *Iliad*, Hera cannot at first (speech 1) persuade Hypnus, when she offers him a number of gifts (*Il.* 14.238: δῶρα δέ τοι δώσω). Hypnus (speech 2) objects that he prefers not to risk incurring the anger of Zeus. He explains that on a previous occasion, his mother Nyx had to interfere to save him from Zeus's rage (*Il.* 14.249–262). To overcome his fear, Hera (speech 3) increases the reward and promises him Pasithea in marriage (*Il.* 14.267–269). Hypnus agrees (speech 4) but wants Hera to swear a solemn oath (*Il.* 14.271–276), which she does immediately. The conversation is rendered in a dialogue of four speeches. Only the concluding oath of Hera is not rendered in direct speech (for an overview, see also table 3 above).

The same passage in Nonnus (*D.* 31.103–198) contains only two speeches. There is no dialogue. Hera instructs Iris to approach Hypnus in the guise of his mother Nyx (cf. *Il.* 14.249–262) and to persuade him by promising Pasithea in marriage (cf. *Il.* 14.267–269). Her intstructions to Iris ends with a commonplace reference to the willingness of desperate lovers to do anything for a gleam of hope (*D.* 31.122–123: οὔ σε διδάξω, | ὅττι γυναιμανέων τις ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πάντα τελέσσει). With this solid plan, Hera seems to anticipate the objections of the Iliadic Hypnus. Agosti (2004, 398) even calls her "a reader of the *Iliad*", explaining her strategy as resulting from an anachronistic knowledge of the Iliadic model, as if not only the narrator but also the characters themselves have the *Iliad* in mind in this episode.[21] An interesting paradox—which may undermine the verisimilitude of the narrative—but for Hera it results in a very effective persuasive strategy. Iris/Nyx needs only one persuasive monologue to fully persuade Hypnus.

Just as when the rhetorical figure of anticipatio or procatalepsis is used (on procatalepsis and the formula ἀλλ' ἐρέεις in the speeches of the *Dionysiaca*, see chapter 3.2.3), an actual spoken reaction is made redundant by anticipating the expected reactions of the interlocutor. This humorous adaptation of the Homeric model could in fact be seen as an allusive variant of this rhetorical figure, for Hera's precautionary measures to avert refusal essentially have the same effect. In this case, however, the anticipation operates on a different level of the narration, for Hera and Iris at that moment in time (two generations before the Trojan War) can, of course, not really share the knowledge of the poet and his readers of how Hypnus will react to Hera's plea during the Trojan War.

The subsequent speech of Iris/Nyx to Hypnus (*D.* 31.135–190) is also an interesting piece of rhetoric. Remarkably, she refers to Pasithea only casually

21 Agosti 2004, 398: "Era si rivela attenta … lettrice dell'*Iliade*, e ansiosa com'è di portare a termine il suo piano, vuole evitare ogni discussione con il Sonno."

(184–186), near the end of her plea, and not with a promise of marriage but with a threat that if Hypnus provokes Hera by not helping her, all hopes of marriage would be lost.[22] The body of the plea consists of (often far-fetched) arguments as to why Nyx and her son Hypnus should consider themselves natural enemies of Dionysus and allies of the Indians—essentially the same strategy as is also applied in Hera's speech to Aphrodite.[23] It is not the subtlety, however, as in Hera's speech to Aphrodite, but the resourcefulness of the arguments in this speech which will probably have been appreciated by Nonnus' rhetorically trained audience.

Τέκνον ἐμόν, τέο μέχρις ἐμὲ Κρονίδης ἀθερίζει;
Οὐχ ἅλις ὡς Φαέθων με βιάζεται, ὅττι καὶ αὐτός
Ὄρθρος ἀκοντίζει με καὶ Ἠριγένεια διώκει;
Ζεὺς νόθον υἷα φύτευσεν, ὅπως ἐμὸν Ὕπνον ἐλέγξῃ.
Εἷς βροτὸς αἰσχύνει με καὶ υἱέα· παννύχιος γάρ
μυστιπόλῳ σπινθῆρι φεραυγέα δαλὸν ἀνάπτων
Βάκχος ἀμαλδύνει με, καὶ ἐγρήσσων σε χαλέπτει.
Ὕπνε, τί πανδαμάτωρ κικλήσκεαι; οὐκέτι θέλγεις
ἀνέρας ἐγρήσσοντας, ὅτι χθονίοιο Λυαίου
κῶμον ἐμὸν νίκησε νόθον σέλας· ἡμετέρων γάρ
φαιδροτέραις δαΐδεσσι κατακρύπτει φλόγας ἄστρων.
Εἷς βροτὸς αἰσχύνει με φαεσφόρος, ὅττι καλύπτει,
καὶ μεγάλην περ ἐοῦσαν, ἐμῆς ἀκτῖνα Σελήνης.
Ἅζομαι Ἠριγένειαν ἐπεγγελόωσαν Ὀμίχλῃ,
ὅττι νόθον μεθέπω νύχιον σέλας· ἀλλοτρίῳ γάρ
ποιητῷ Φαέθοντι φαείνομαι ἠματίη Νύξ.—
Ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, φίλε κοῦρε, χολώεο δίζυγι θεσμῷ
μυστιπόλοις Σατύροισι καὶ ἀγρύπνῳ Διονύσῳ·
δὸς χάριν ἀχνυμένῃ σέο μητέρι, δὸς χάριν Ἥρῃ,
καὶ Διὸς ὑψιμέδοντος ἀθελγέα θέλξον ὀπωπήν
ἐς μίαν ἠριγένειαν, ὅπως Ἰνδοῖσιν ἀρήξῃ
οὓς Σάτυροι κλονέουσι καὶ εἰσέτι Βάκχος ὀρίνει.—
Ὕπνε, τί πανδαμάτωρ κικλήσκεαι; Ἢν ἐθελήσῃς,
τρέψον ἐμοὶ τεὸν ὄμμα, καὶ ἑπταπύλῳ παρὰ Θήβῃ

22 Ironically, in book 33 it is Pasithea who urges Aphrodite to help Dionysus.

23 Note that—just like Aphrodite herself (see below under 1.2.1)—Hypnus as the "god of sleep" is actually a natural ally of Dionysus "god of wine". Cf. *D.* 15.88–91 (Hypnus wants to please Dionysus because he is Pasithea's father) and *D.* 48.636–638 (Hypnus wants to help Dionysus in his amorous conquest because he is a fellow-sufferer of love).

πάννυχον ἐγρήσσοντα πάλιν Κρονίωνα νοήσεις.
Λῦσον ἀτασθαλίην ἀδίκου Διός· Ἀμφιτρύων μέν
νόσφιν ἑοῦ θαλάμοιο σιδηροχίτων μετανάστης
μάρναται· Ἀλκμήνῃ δὲ παρέζεται ἐνδόμυχος Ζεύς,
νυμφιδίην ἀκόρητος ἔχων τρισέληνον ὀμίχλην·
μὴ Διὸς ἐγρήσσοντος ἴδω καὶ νύκτα τετάρτην.
Ἀλλά, τέκος, Κρονίωνι κορύσσεο, μὴ πάλιν ἄλλην,
μὴ πάλιν ἐννεάκυκλον ἀναπλήσειεν ὀμίχλην.
Μνημοσύνης προτέρης μιμνήσκεο· τῇ παριαύων
ἐννέα νύκτας ἔμιμνεν, ἔχων ἄγρυπνον ὀπωπήν,
οἶστρον ἔχων πολύτεκνον ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων.
Πανδαμάτωρ θεὸς ἄλλος ὁμόπτερος, εἴκελος Ὕπνῳ,
βαιὸς Ἔρως, Κρονίδην ὀλίγῳ νίκησε βελέμνῳ.—
Γηγενέων δ' ἐλέαιρε γονὴν μελανόχροον Ἰνδῶν.
Δὸς χάριν· ὑμετέρης γὰρ ὁμόχροές εἰσι τεκούσης·
ῥύεο κυανέους, κυανόπτερε· μηδὲ χαλέψῃς
Γαῖαν ἐμοῦ γενετῆρος ὁμήλικα, τῆς ἄπο μούνης
πάντες ἀνεβλάστησαν, ὅσοι ναετῆρες Ὀλύμπου.
Μὴ τρομέοις Κρονίδην, ὅτε σύγγαμος ἵλαος Ἥρη·
μὴ τρομέοις Σεμέλην, ἣν ἔφλεγεν αὐτὸς ἀκοίτης.
Οὐ στεροπὴ πυρόεσσα δυνήσεται ἰσοφαρίζειν,
οὐ βροντὴ βαρύδουπος ἀρασσομένων νεφελάων.
Μοῦνον ἐμοὶ πτερὰ πάλλε, καὶ ἀκλινέων ἐπὶ λέκτρων
μίμνει Ζεὺς ἀτίνακτος, ὅσον χρόνον, Ὕπνε, κελεύεις.—
Ἔκλυον, ὡς ποθέεις Χαρίτων μίαν· ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
οἶστρον ἔχων θαλάμοιο φυλάσσεο, μηδὲ χαλέψῃς
μητέρα Πασιθέης, ζυγίην θαλαμηπόλον Ἥρην.
Εἰ δὲ σὺ ναιετάεις παρὰ Τηθύι Λευκάδα πέτρην,
Δηριάδῃ χραίσμησον, ὃν ἤροσεν Ἰνδὸς Ὑδάσπης·
γείτονι πιστὰ φύλαξον, ἐπεὶ τεὸς ἠχέτα γείτων
Ὠκεανὸς κελάδων προπάτωρ πέλε Δηριαδῆος.

My child, how long is Cronides to despise me? Is it not enough that Phaëthon does me violence, that Morning shoots me, and Dawn pursues me? Zeus has got a bastard son, just to confound my dear Sleep! One mortal by himself insults me and my son: all night long Bacchos destroys me, and provokes you, by keeping wide awake and kindling his blazing torch with mystic sparks. Why are you named All-vanquisher, Sleep? No longer you charm wakeful men, now that the spurious gleam of earth-born Lyaios has conquered my revels—for he hides the flames of my

> stars by brighter torches of his own. One mortal by himself insults me, a new Lightbringer who covers the beams of my Moon great as they are. I am shamed before Day when she mocks at darkness, because I have a false brightness in the night: for a foreign unnatural Sun makes me shine as if night were day. O my dear son! You must resent this on two counts—resist the mystical Satyrs, resist Dionysos the sleepless! Grant this boon to your sorrowful mother, grant this boon to Hera and charm the charmproof eye of Zeus in the Highest, just for one day, that she may help the Indians whom the Satyrs scatter in rout and still Bacchos harries. O Sleep, why are you named Allvanquisher? If it be your pleasure, pray turn your eye, and you shall perceive Cronion wakeful once again through the night in sevengate Thebes. Make an end of the wantonness of Zeus Lawbreaker! Amphitryon is far from his bridal chamber, steelclad and in the battle; Zeus makes himself at home by the side of Alcmena, enjoying insatiate three moons of bridal darkness! Let me not see Zeus yet wakeful for a fourth night. Nay, my son, arm you against Cronion—let him not have more darkness, nine full circles more! Remember Mnemosyne in the old time before us; how he lay by her side for nine whole nights, with eyes ever wakeful, full of passion for many children in that unresting bridal. Another allvanquishing god, winged like Sleep, little Love, conquered Cronides with a tiny dart. Pity the blackskin nation of earthborn Indians! Grant this boon—for they have the same colour as your mother—save the black ones, O Blackwing! Do not provoke Earth, my father's agemate, from whom alone we are all sprung, we who dwell in Olympos. Tremble not before Zeus, when his consort Hera is favourable: tremble not before Semele, whom her own bedfellow burnt up. No fiery lightning can equal you, no loud thunderclaps from the bursting clouds: do but flap me your wings, and Zeus lies immovable on unshaken bed, so long as you command him, Sleep! I have heard that you want one of the Graces; then if you have in your heart an itch for her bedchamber, have a care! Do not provoke Pasithea's mother, Hera the handmaid of wedded love! And if you dwell with Tethys by the Leucadian Rock, do help Deriades the son of Indian Hydaspes: be true to a neighbour, for resounding Ocean your loud-voiced neighbour was an ancestor of Deriades.

Nyx opens her speech with a strong complaint about Zeus' disrespectful behaviour towards her (136: τέο μέχρις ἐμὲ Κρονίδης ἀθερίζει;). Only gradually does it become clear what she means, both to Hypnus and to the narratee. Zeus has given birth to Dionysus, whose Bacchic rituals with torchlight destroy the

darkness of night, keep men awake and, therefore, constitute not only a threat for Nyx, but also to Hypnus himself (142: ἐγρήσσων σε χαλέπτει). The topic of Dionysus' false lights chasing away the darkness and outshining the stars and moon is widely elaborated upon (until 153) with a constant emphasis on Dionysus questionable divine status (139: νόθον υἷα, 140 and 147: βροτός, and 144: χθονίοιο Λυαίου).

Nyx' second argument against Zeus (158–172) is announced with the rhetorical question Ὕπνε, τί πανδαμάτωρ κικλήσκεαι; (already in 143 and repeated here in 158), which by Nonnus' audience—versed in Homer—will have been understood as a reference to the epithet of Hypnus in *Il.* 24.5 and *Od.* 9.373.[24] The truly all-subduing deity in the world of the *Dionysiaca*, however, is Eros, with whom Hypnus is here compared, first implicitly and later explicitly (πανδαμάτωρ in line 171 refers to Eros).[25] The second reason for Nyx' anger is, indeed, Zeus' nightly love-life, because Zeus is staying awake all night, this time while courting Alcmene. By making Nyx call Hypnus a πανδαμάτωρ, Nonnus, moreover, inverts the situation of *Iliad* 14.259, where Hypnus recalls how Nyx, who is called δμήτειρα θεῶν, saved him from Zeus' wrath.

After arguing who should be regarded as enemies, Nyx explains to her son who should be regarded as friends. The Indians are described both as γηγενής and μελανόχροος in line 173, which directly leads to the next two arguments: they have the colour of the night (174–175) and are the offspring of Gaia, whose brother Chaos is Nyx' own father (175–177). Finally (178–186), Nyx assures Hypnus of his safety, relying on the power of Hera, and refers to his desire for Pasithea as an argument for him not to provoke her mother Hera (184–186). The monologue is ended with yet another far-fetched argument concerning the Indians (187–190): their king Deriades is also a grandchild of Oceanus, to whom Hypnus should pay respect as his neighbour.

After this long monologue, Hypnus is persuaded at once. In his enthusiasm, he even wants to prolong Zeus' sleep to three days,[26] instead of one, and

24 By means of the verb-form κικλήσκεαι (you are called …), the audience's attention is drawn to the fact that the epithet πανδαμάτωρ is certainly also used elsewhere in the literary tradition for Hypnus. This practice of scholarly signalling an allusion is commonly referred to as an "Alexandrian footnote". See Hinds 1998, 1–5. For this practice in Nonnus, see also below in chapter 3.1.3.

25 See also Vian 1997, 53–54. The epithet πανδαμάτωρ and its feminine counterpart are used in the *Dionysiaca* for many different deities (Nemesis (2×), Hera (2×), Tyche (2×), Dionysus (2×), Hypnus (2× in this speech), Rhea (1×), but most often for Eros (4× for Eros himself, 1× for Ἵμερος and 2× for Eros' bow and arrows)).

26 31.192–193: Ὕπνος ἀνεπτοίητο, καὶ ὤμοσεν ὄμματα θέλγειν | Ζηνὸς ἀκοιμήτοιο καὶ εἰς τριτάτης

Iris/Nyx has to calm him down (191–195). This part of their dialogue is, however, not rendered in direct speech but briefly summarized.

When reading the reaction of Hypnus after Iris' speech, it can be observed that two of the elements that have led to his persuasion are repeated here and thus emphasized by the narrator:

(1) He leaps into action οἷά τε μητρὸς ἀκούων (191) as if he was listening to his mother, which emphasizes the efficacy of Iris' disguise;
(2.) When Iris/Nyx leaves Hypnus, he stays behind δεδεγμένος εὔγαμον ὥρην (196), waiting for the day of his marriage, which emphasizes the importance of the Pasithea-argument for Hypnus.

It is not mentioned whether he shows any indignation over the crimes of Dionysus and Zeus, nor any sympathy for the Indians. As his reaction suggests, the mere fact that his mother asked him to and the prospect of a marriage to Pasithea would have been more than sufficient to persuade him—and this is precisely what Hera had instructed Iris to do (31.116–123).

But why, then, use so many elaborate arguments in this monologue, if not for persuasion? Vian comments on the "rhétorique caricaturale" of this monologue, which in his opinion is used as a means to ridicule the enemies of Dionysus. "Ce n'est pas un hasard s'il profite de ces scènes pour introduire des détails insolites ou des généalogies aberrantes" (1997, 54–55). The far-fetched arguments certainly add to the overall light and humorous tone of the episode, but this kind of caricaturing rhetoric is used in the *Dionysiaca* not only for Dionysus' enemies but also for his allies (see below on the speech of Aphrodite to Eros). Even in Dionysus' own speeches, equally far-fetched arguments can be found (see especially chapters 2, 5 and 6). The resourcefulness of the arguments—absurd as they may seem—and the clever play with the Homeric model throughout the speech rather seem to highlight the rhetorical wit and scholarly παιδεία of the author.[27]

δρόμον Ἠοῦς· Note also that it is Hypnus who takes the oath here (192: ὤμοσεν), whereas in the *Iliad*, Hera has to swear an oath (14.280: ὄμοσεν) in order to persuade him.

27 It is not only the word play with the epithet πανδαμάτωρ and the reference to Pasithea which bring Homer to mind. The subtle reference to Heracles' conception (Zeus' love night with Alcmene, 31.161–165) will also remind an attentive reader of the situation in the *Iliad*. Whereas in Nonnus, Alcmene is referred to by Nyx as an argument for Hypnus to fight Zeus, in the *Iliad*, Hypnus' traumatic experience after having helped Hera against Heracles is an argument against him doing so. Note also the irony of comforting Hypnus with the assurance that Hera will protect him (31.178). The attentive reader will remember

One could go even further and claim that the aim to entertain the poem's audience is more important in this speech than Hera's persuasion of Hypnus. In this respect, it is possible to draw a parallel between Nonnus' use of rhetoric and the much-applauded absurdities of the show rhetoric of the Second Sophistic. The occurrence of paradoxical (mythological) arguments is one of the trademarks of the sophistic (cf. the *Encomium of Helen* by Gorgias) and later the Second Sophistic tradition (cf. show orations such as Lucian's *Encomium of a fly*, Aelius Aristides' *Oration* 16 (rewriting the embassy to Achilles) or Dio of Prusa's *Oration* 52 (arguing that the Trojans had won the war)).[28] Even when we assume that Nonnus' poetry was recited for the contemporary audience (cf. Agosti 2006b on the recitation of late antique poetry), it nevertheless remains very difficult to imagine the performance context of Nonnus' rhetorical speeches. Was direct speech in such recitals, for example, distinguished in any way from the narrator text by the gestures or intonation of the performer? We can only guess. Nonetheless, even for a "silent" reader, without access to such paralinguistic clues, the entertainment value of the absurd argumentation in Nonnus' speeches remains.[29]

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that she was not able to do so in the Heracles story (*Il.* 14.249–259), being rather severely punished herself. He will also remember how Hera comforted Hypnus in the *Iliad* with the idea that Zeus would never be as angry for the sake of the Trojans as he would for that of one of his favourite sons (*Il.* 14.265–266): a bad omen for Nonnus' Hypnus, who will be helping Hera to attack one of these favourite sons! For the reader, knowing much more than Hypnus, Hera's speech creates a certain expectation of the outcome of the episode for Hypnus. Only in 35.275–277, after Zeus' awakening, will it be revealed that Nyx has indeed saved her son from Zeus' wrath, with another playful reference to Homer (35.277 εἰ μὴ Νὺξ ἱκέτευε, θεῶν δμήτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν ~ *Il.* 14.259 εἰ μὴ Νὺξ δμήτειρα θεῶν ἐσάωσε καὶ ἀνδρῶν·). See also Frangoulis 2006a, 31.

28 See Whitmarsh 2005, 21, 70–73. See also Kim 2010 for the playful historicizing of the heroic past in Imperial literature (esp. Lucian and Philostratus).

29 The similarities in the use of mythology between Nonnus and Lucian—as a true representative of the second sophistic—was also noticed by Vian (1978, 166): "Nul doute que, sur ce point comme sur d'autres, Nonnos a subi l'influence de la rhétorique et peut-être, d'une façon plus précise, celle de Lucien qui aime comme lui accumuler les allusions mythologiques dans ses Dialogues marins et ses Dialogues des dieux. C'est encore à Lucien qu'on pense d'abord si l'on veut examiner la nature des thèmes mythologiques employés par Nonnos. Ils sont en général d'une extrême banalité et ils appartiennent à ce stock commun où les rhéteurs aimaient à puiser pour fleurir leurs discours. Bien des observations que fait J. Bompaire au sujet de l'Olympe rhétorique de Lucien pourraient s'appliquer à Nonnos et l'on relève souvent chez les deux auteurs une commune tendance à l'ironie et au sarcasme." Cf. Bompaire 1958, 191–203.

1.2 A Speech for a Speech: Apollonius Inverted

As a result of the events of Nonnus' Διὸς ἀπάτη episode, Zeus falls asleep in *D.* 32.97 and does not wake up until 24 hours later, in *D.* 35.262. As soon as Zeus is asleep, Megaera, following Hera's orders, strikes Dionysus with madness (32.98–150) and without his leadership his army suffers significant losses (32.151–299). The insertion of a new divine plot in book 33 is probably the most original element of Nonnus' adaptation of the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode. The effect of the Διὸς ἀπάτη is thus countered by a new ploy which limits its damage to Dionysus' entourage. I will use the parallels between Nonnus and Apollonius in this episode to reveal some of the differences in the composition and functions of the speeches in their respective epics.

1.2.1 *Arguing for and against: Aphrodite's Double Role*

My first example is part of the divine prologue to the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode, in which the density of references to Apollonius is highest. This, however, does not mean that Apollonius is imitated here to the same extent as was the case for Homer earlier. Only for one speech in Apollonius can we find a true "equivalent" in Nonnus. This is the speech of Aphrodite to Eros in which she asks for his cooperation (*D.* 33.149–179 ~ *Argon.* 3.129–144). Nonnus' version almost doubles his Apollonian model in length (31 lines instead of 16).

In Apollonius, Aphrodite's request for Eros' help is preceded by a long dialogue between Aphrodite and Hera (and a silent Athena), modelled on the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη, and as such also imitated by Nonnus in his adaptation of Homer (see 1.1.1). Whereas Aphrodite in the *Argonautica* mediates between Hera and Athena on the one hand and her son Eros on the other, in Nonnus Aphrodite is the instigator of the divine intrigue.[30] After having agreed to help Hera against Dionysus in the opening lines of book 32, she unexpectedly switches sides at the beginning of book 33.

The opening scene of this book narrates Pasithea's discovery of Dionysus' madness and the massacre of his beautiful Bacchantes. Whereas Pasithea is still presented as the daughter of Hera in 31.186 (μητέρα Πασιθέης [...] Ἥρην), Nonnus has now decided to follow another variant of the Graces' genealogy (also in *D.* 15.91 and 48.555–556),[31] in which they are the daughters of Dionysus. Moved by what she has discovered, Pasithea returns to Olympus and tries to

30 See also Montenz 2004, 102.

31 See also Gerlaud 2005, 36.

hide her grief, but Aphrodite reads the sadness on her face and questions her.[32] Pasithea's very short and straightforward plea for help for her father (33.42–47, esp. 47: *εἰ δύνασαι, προμάχιζε κασιγνήτου Διονύσου*), who is also Aphrodite's brother (according to the genealogical variant in which she is the daughter of Zeus, frequently used in Nonnus), and her woeful story (rendered in indirect speech only) suffice to break the weak bonds of Aphrodite's loyalty to Hera.[33]

She decides to call in the help of Eros, but unlike Apollonius' Aphrodite, Nonnus' Aphrodite, instead of searching for Eros herself, sends Aglaea, Pasithea's sister, to fetch him. This is an adaptation in the same vein as the introduction of Iris as an intermediary in the Hypnus episode, discussed above.[34] Finally, in line 149, Aphrodite has taken her boy in her arms and addresses him in a plea for help (33.149–179), with clear correspondences to her plea in Apollonius 3.129–144.

Τέκνον ἐμόν, Φαέθοντος ἐλήσαο καὶ Κυθερείης·
οὐκέτι Πασιφάη μυκώμενα λέκτρα διώκει·
Ἠέλιος γελάᾳ με καὶ Ἀστρίδος αἷμα κορύσσει
παιδὸς ἑῆς υἱῆα μαχήμονα Δηριαδῆα,
Βασσαρίδων ὀλετῆρα γυναιμανέος Διονύσου
καὶ Σατύρων Βρομίοιο ποθοβλήτων ἐλατῆρα.
Τοῦτό με μᾶλλον ὄρινεν, ὅτι βροτοειδέι μορφῇ
Ἄρης ἐγρεκύδοιμος ἔχων συνάεθλον Ἐνυώ,
ἀρχαίης φιλότητος ἀφειδήσας Ἀφροδίτης,

32 There is a remarkable contrast in tone between the dialogue between Aphrodite and Hera and that between Aphrodite and Pasithea. A compassionate Aphrodite here gently questions a truly aggrieved Pasithea, but uses the same rhetorical topos of questions followed by hypothetical answers as in her speech to Hera, in which she adopts a mocking tone in front of Hera's crocodile tears. See also above under 1.1.1 for this rhetorical structure. Cf. Montenz 2004, 96: "il breve incalzare di domande che negli *Argonautica* Afrodite pone ad Era viene amplificato in un'allocuzione che occupa tredici versi e ne disattende, di nuovo, la velata ironia."

33 The emotional reaction of Aphrodite, who suddenly turns pale (33.55–65), similarly contrasts with her reaction to Hera's plea in book 32.1–2, where she remains unmoved. See also the discussion of this passage in Vian 1997, 75–76.

34 The role of Aglaea as a messenger of Aphrodite is compared by Montenz (2004, 98) to Athena's role in *Il.* 4.93–103, when she approaches Pandarus on Zeus' orders. Many other examples can, of course, be found. Aglaea finds Eros while he is playing a game of κότταβος, in clear imitation of Apollonius 3.111–128, where Aphrodite finds him playing a game of knucklebones. Cf. Gerlaud 2005, 36–47 and Montenz 2004, 98–99.

νεύμασιν Ἡραίοισιν ἐθωρήχθη Διονύσῳ,
Ἰνδῴῳ βασιλῆι συνέμπορος. Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ χάρμῃ
Ἄρης Δηριάδαο, σὺ δὲ προμάχιζε Λυαίου·
ἔγχος ἔχει, σὺ δὲ τόξον ὑπέρτερον, ᾧ γόνυ κάμπτει
Ζεὺς ὕπατος καὶ θοῦρος Ἄρης καὶ θέσμιος Ἑρμῆς·
δειμαίνει σέο τόξα καὶ ὁ κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων.
Εἰ δὲ τεῇ, φίλε κοῦρε, χαρίζεαι Ἀφρογενείῃ,
Βασσαρίδων προμάχιζε καὶ ἡμετέρου Διονύσου.
Ἀλλὰ μολὼν ἀκίχητος ἑώιον εἰς κλίμα γαίης
Ἰνδῴην παρὰ πέζαν, ὅπῃ θεράπαινα Λυαίου
ἔστι τις ἐν Βάκχῃσιν, ὑπέρτερος ἥλικος ἥβης,
οὔνομα Χαλκομέδη φιλοπάρθενος—εἰ δέ κεν ἄμφω
Χαλκομέδην καὶ Κύπριν ἔσω Λιβάνοιο νοήσῃς,
οὐ δύνασαι, φίλε κοῦρε, διακρίνειν Ἀφροδίτην—.
Κεῖθι μολὼν χραίσμησον ἐρημονόμῳ Διονύσῳ,
Μορρέα τοξεύσας ἐπὶ κάλλεϊ Χαλκομεδείης.
Σεῖο δὲ τοξοσύνης γέρας ἄξιον ἐγγυαλίξω
Λήμνιον εὐποίητον ἐγὼ στέφος, εἴκελον αἴγλαις
Ἠελίου φλογεροῖο· σὺ δὲ γλυκὺν ἰὸν ἰάλλων
δὸς χάριν ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ Κύπριδι καὶ Διονύσῳ·
σὸν καὶ ἐμὸν κύδαινε γαμοστόλον οἶνον ἐρώτων,
εὐφροσύνης κήρυκα βιοζυγέων ὑμεναίων.

My dear child, you have forgotten Phaëthon and Cythereia! Pasiphaë no longer wants the bull's love. Helios mocks at me, and arms the offspring of Astris, the warrior Deriades his own daughter's son, to destroy the Bassarids of womanmad Dionysos and to rout the love-stricken Satyrs of Bromios. But it has provoked me more than all, that battle-stirring Ares in mortal shape, with Enyo by his side, without regard for his old love of Aphrodite, has armed himself against Dionysos at Hera's bidding and supports the Indian king. Now then, on this field Ares is for Deriades—then you fight for Lyaios. He has a spear, you have a stronger bow, before which bend the knee Zeus the Highest and furious Ares and Hermes the lawgiver; even that Archer Apollo fears your bow. If you will give a boon to your Foamborn, fight for the Bassarids and our Dionysos. Go I pray, to the Eastern clime and let no one catch you—go to the Indian plain, where there is a hand-maid of Lyaios amongst the Bacchants, more excellent than her yearsmates, named Chalcomede, who loves the maiden state—but if you should see Chalcomede and Cypris both together in Libanos, you cannot tell which was Aphrodite, my dear boy! Go to that place and

> help Dionysos ranging the wilds, by shooting Morrheus for the beauty of Chalcomedeia. I will give you a worthy prize for your shooting, a wellmade Lemnian chaplet, like the rays of fiery Helios. Shoot a sweet arrow, and you will do a grace both to Cypris and to Dionysus; honour the wine, mine as well as yours, bridesmaid of love and herald of lifelong wedding and happy hearts.

In his discussion of this monologue in the Budé edition, Bernard Gerlaud (2005, 49–50) points out which elements are of Apollonian inspiration:[35]

(1) In both speeches Aphrodite starts with a reproach to her son.
(2) In both speeches Aphrodite promises Eros a beautiful god-made object as a reward.[36]
(3) The assignment Aphrodite gives to Eros is the same (namely to strike Morrheus/Medea with love for Chalcomede/Jason).

But there are also a couple of noteworthy differences. As Gerlaud (2005, 50) himself points out, the reproach to Eros in Nonnus is of a very different kind. Whereas Aphrodite in Apollonius playfully reproaches her son, who is caught cheating in a children's game, in Nonnus the reproach Φαέθοντος ἐλήσαο καὶ Κυθερείης (33.149) introduces a first reference to the on-going animosity between Aphrodite and Helius (Deriades' grandfather), which is the result of Helius' role in uncovering the secret love affair of Aphrodite and Ares (cf. *Od.* 8.266–366).

It can be pointed out that, in Apollonius, the reproach primarily characterizes the mother-child relationship of Aphrodite and Eros. The reproach of Nonnus' Aphrodite, by contrast, is no longer an innocent opener to the speech, but has become part of the line of argumentation that runs through it to persuade Eros to side with Dionysus against the Indians. Consequently, the promise of reward—the only means of persuasion used in Apollonius' version—has lost its prominence in Nonnus. Whereas in Apollonius the promised object is exten-

35 See also Montenz 2004, 102–103.

36 Note also the difference between the two rewards: a toy in Apollonius and a crown in Nonnus. The distinction seems to represent the characterization of Eros in both epics very well. In the *Dionysiaca*, he is no longer a playful child but a capricious adolescent and a mighty ruler. Κότταβος, the game Eros is playing in the *Dionysiaca* (33.60–108), moreover, is not a children's game, in contrast to his game of knucklebones in Apollonius. See also Montenz 2004, 101 n. 31, discussing Eros' role as a speaking character in Nonnus, whereas the "child" Eros remains silent in Apollonius.

sively described (10 of the 16 lines of Aphrodite's speech are a description of the golden ball), in Nonnus Aphrodite's gift receives only 1.5 lines of description, which, moreover, also include a reference to Helius (the crown's radiance is compared to the beams of Helius in 33.175–176), and thus to the opening argument of the speech.[37]

This speech by Aphrodite, however, not only invites comparison with its counterpart in Apollonius but also—if we look at the argumentation—with the speech of Hera (as analysed in 1.1.1 above) which could be regarded as its argumentative counterpart. Aphrodite's double role in the *Dionysiaca* allows the narrator to contrast the argumentation in favour of her alliance with Hera (speech of Hera to Aphrodite, 31.229–282) with the argumentation in favour of her alliance with Dionysus (in this speech of Aphrodite to Eros).

Although separated by more than 400 lines, these two speeches can easily be read as each other's counterparts, arguing for and against the same proposition. Both speeches are introduced with an introductory formula referring to a certain wiliness (33.148: δολόφρονα […] φωνήν ~ 31.228 δολόεντι […] μύθῳ), whereas in both cases no actual ruse is used.[38] Instead of using ruse, both goddesses hide their manipulative intentions behind a veil of self-pity and portray themselves as the victims of the situation.[39] As might be expected, the speech by Aphrodite largely inverts the argumentation in the speech by Hera:

(1) Aphrodite opens her speech with a reference to her enemy Helius, who is also the grandfather of the Indian king Deriades (33.151–152: Ἠέλιος γελάᾳ με καὶ Ἀστρίδος αἷμα κορύσσει, | παιδὸς ἑῆς υἱῆα μαχήμονα Δηριαδῆα). This argument for fighting against the Indians counters the final argument in Hera's plea to Aphrodite, urging her to fight for the Indians as a tribute to former hosts (cf. 31.275–276).

(2) Whereas Hera continuously emphasizes the relationships between herself, Aphrodite and Ares (Hera's loyal son, fighting against Dionysus, but also Aphrodite's husband) as strong arguments for winning Aphrodite's

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37 The comparison to the beams of Helius could, however, also be of Apollonian inspiration. In *Argon.* 3.141 the golden ball is likened to a star in the sky when it is thrown up. Both objects are thus likened to a celestial body.

38 See also chapter 4 on deceptive speeches.

39 Aphrodite uses this strategy even more clearly than Hera did. Aglaea's message to Eros was already intended to alarm Eros about the pitiable condition of his mother. The manipulative intentions of her self-pity are also emphasized by the narrator in the sentence introducting her speech οἷα χόλου πνείουσα (33.148). Compare also with *Argon.* 3.91–99, where Aphrodite complains that she has no control over her all-powerful son.

support, Aphrodite feels jealous and neglected by her lover because of his loyalty to his mother (33.155–158).

(3) Hera's subtle ways of stressing her family ties with Aphrodite (through Ares and Hephaestus, cf. 31.236) are countered by Aphrodite's and Eros' close (family) relationship with Dionysus, who is called "ours" (33.165: ἡμετέρου Διονύσου).

(4) Whereas Hera argues that, being the goddess of marriage, she has the right to be supported by the power of the cestus (cf. 31.282), Aphrodite argues that Dionysus, being the god of "wine bringing love", deserves to be supported by the arrows of Eros (33.177–179). The argument of Dionysus' affinity with "love", and thus with Aphrodite and Eros, can already be seen to be foreshadowed in 33.153–154, where Aphrodite describes Dionysus with the adjective γυναιμανής and his Satyrs with ποθόβλητος.[40]

When considered in connection with each other, the two speeches, arguing the same case from two different perspectives, can be interpreted as reflecting the rhetorical ambition of being able to argue a case from both sides (*disputare in utramque partem*). This ambition had been articulated by Aristotle,[41] and—closer to Nonnus' period—was put into practice by the show orators of the Second Sophistic and the students and teachers of rhetoric.[42] As will also become clear in my analysis of the *Dionysiaca*'s battle exhortations in the next chapter, Nonnus too seems to have practiced arguing one case from several

40 Hera, on the other hand, refers to Zeus in her speech to Aphrodite as θηλυμανής (31.278), while trying to blacken his reputation. To reproach him for his adulterous love-life when trying to persuade the goddess of love to act against him is a strange tactic. A slip of the tongue of a jealous wife?

41 See Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1355a: ἔτι δὲ τἀναντία δεῖ δύνασθαι πείθειν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφότερα πράττωμεν (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ φαῦλα πείθειν) ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλου χρωμένου τοῖς λόγοις μὴ δικαίως αὐτοὶ λύειν ἔχωμεν. "Further, the orator should be able to prove opposites, as in logical arguments; not that we should do both (for one ought not to persuade people to do what is wrong), but that the real state of the case may not escape us, and that we ourselves may be able to counteract false arguments if another makes unfair use of them" (transl. J.H. Freese 1947[2]).

42 Cf. Aelius Aristides' paired suasoria arguing for opposite causes or from opposite perspectives (*Orationes* 5 and 6, 7 and 8, 9 and 10) and the practice of writing paired progymnasmata: encomium and invective, refutation and confirmation, in which the procedure had to be reversed (Apth. *Prog.* 5.2 (Patillon): τοῖς ἐναντίοις χρήσασθαι) to go from the first exercise to the second. See Patillon 1979 and 2008 and Kennedy 2003 for the progymnasmata guidebooks of Aphthonius, Ps.-Hermogenes, Nicolaus and Aelius Theon and Gibson 2008 for the collection of progymnasmata attributed to Libanius.

perspectives. In 31.32–69 (Hera to Persephone, persuading her to act against Dionysus) and 44.191–216 (Dionysus to Mene/Persephone, persuading her to choose his side) we find a second example in the same vein, but now with the two speeches separated even further from each other.[43] Was Nonnus' intended audience expected to be able to make this connection? Or is their similarity rather to be interpreted as the inevitable consequence of Nonnus' constant reuse of certain themes, topoi and lines of argumentation?

In this particular case (regarding Aphrodite's choice for Hera or Dionysus), I do think there is more at stake than *repetitio cum variatione*. Besides the opposition in rhetorical terms, Aphrodite's double role, most clearly embodied in these two speeches, also connects and contrasts Nonnus' version of the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη on the one hand and of the story of *Argonautica* 3 on the other. Nonnus not only argues two sides of a case, but in doing so, he also confronts Homer and Apollonius. The double role of Aphrodite and the contrast created between the two speeches intensify the effect already created by the choice of imitating a major episode of the *Argonautica* as a subplot for the Διὸς ἀπάτη. Nonnus cleverly plays off his two most important epic predecessors against each other, probably much to the amusement of his learned public. In Nonnus' poem, Apollonius clearly has a different status from Homer, with whom Nonnus more explicitly enters into dialogue, but is—consequently—also less conspicuously challenged. Can we also speak of a "winner" in the rhetorical "battle" between the two in this episode? Or does the Nonnian narrator rather use this opposition between *Iliad* and *Argonautica* to claim his own "victory" over his models, by moulding them to his will and demonstrating both his command of tradition and the originality of his own adaptations? It is a topic that deserves further scholarly attention.

1.2.2 *From Medea to Morrheus: Torn between Contradictory Feelings*

My second example is part of the actual love story of books 33–35—an inverted version of the story of Jason and Medea.[44] The clearest echo of Apollonius in the story of Morrheus and Chalcomede is not to be found in the speeches but in the narrator's description of nightfall (*D.* 33.266–279 ~ *Argon.* 3.744–750). Other

43 See also Vian 1997, 49 (on Hera's speech to Persephone): "On a déjà noté que la prière de Dionysos à Méné/Perséphone au cours de la Penthéide en constituait une réplique."

44 Apart from being an inversion of the story of Jason and Medea, the "novel" of Morrheus and Chalcomede also contains many novelistic echo's and could be seen as an inversion (unreciprocal love, unhappy ending) of the ideal novel. See among others Giraudet 2012 who compares with the equally novelistic story of the chaste Drusiana in the *Apocryphal Acts of John.*

TABLE 5 *Soliloquies of Medea and Morrheus compared*

***Argon.* 3.771–801 (31): Medea**	***D.* 34.8–18 (11): Morrheus**
771–777: Confused state of mind: πάντῃ μοι φρένες εἰσὶν ἀμήχανοι (3.772). Wish to have died before his arrival (3.773–777).	8–10: Confused state of mind: πλάζεται ἀλλοπρόσαλλος ἐμὸς νόος (34.8).
778–785: First decision: endure in not helping Jason. Jason will die (778: φθίσθω ἀεθλεύων). Arguments: father would know; no solution. Intermezzo (782): "Shall I greet him, when I see him?"	11–12: First plan: kill Chalcomede (κτείνω Χαλκομέδειαν ἐπήρατον).
Objections: sorrow and grief will not disappear with his death (783–785).	Objections: What if she kills me with longing after she is dead?
785–787: Second decision: will help Jason (785–786: ἐρρέτω αἰδώς, ἐρρέτω ἀγλαΐη).	13–15: Second plan: spare and openly love Chalcomede.
788–790: Consequence: decision to kill herself afterwards.	
791–797: Objections: but my reputation will be sullied and will haunt me.	Objections: father-in-law Deriades (fear) and wife Cheirobie (pity).
798–801: Solution: wish to die a natural death the same night.	16–18: Resolve: will not kill her—cannot live without her.

passages only vaguely bring Apollonius to mind, for example the passage of Morrheus' dream (*D.* 34.89–122 ~ Medea's dream in *Argon.* 3.616–632) and of his dialogue with his servant Hyssacus (*D.* 34.21–88 ~ Medea's dialogue with her sister in *Argon.* 3.669–743).[45]

45 See also Montenz 2004, 95.

With regard to the composition and function of the speeches, an interesting point of comparison with Apollonius can be found in the soliloquy of Morrheus at the start of book 34 (see table 4). He expresses his doubts about surrendering to love or fighting against it. Morrheus' doubts can be compared with those expressed in Medea's famous "interior monologues" in *Argonautica* 3 (three speeches: 464–470, 636–644, 771–801).[46] In structure and content, Morrheus' speech shows most parallels with Medea's third and longest speech.[47] Although the average speech length in Nonnus is much greater than in Apollonius (see introduction), Morrheus' speech is almost three times shorter than Medea's.

Both Morrheus' and Medea's speech open with a general expression of the confused state of mind of the speaker. In both speeches, the speaker internally debates the issue of whether to yield to his/her love for the enemy, which will save the beloved, or not, which will kill the beloved. Both possible actions have consequences that lead to objections. Both Medea and Morrheus realize that killing the beloved (or allowing him to be killed) will not be a solution. Both also fear the reaction of their father or father-in-law.

The only element in Medea's speech for which no equivalent can be found in Nonnus is her repeated wish to die or kill herself. In the *Dionysiaca*, by contrast, it is Chalcomede who expresses the wish to die, out of fear for the love of Morrheus (Chalcomede's desperate speech on the cliffs in 33.324–345). Morrheus, the fierce Indian soldier, does not consider suicide to be an option.[48]

When looking at the structure of the two speeches, it can be noted that Morrheus' speech is not only much shorter but also has a highly balanced structure. It consists of four parts of three or two lines each, with parts two and three constructed as each other's parallels. Medea's speech, on the other hand, gives a much more realistic portrait of a restless mind, jumping from one idea to another. Nonnus apparently did not imitate this particular feature of his model, but, conversely, even created a contrast between the emotional,

46 Cf. Fusillo 2001 and Grillo 2011 on Medea's soliloquies as the first "monologues intérieurs" in the history of literature.

47 See also Montenz 2004, 108: "Tratti più perspicui di dipendenza da Apollonio appaiono nel terzo monologo di Morreo (ripreso direttamente dal terzo di Medea, pur con alcune significative differenze), e contribuiscono a segnare definitivamente l'identificazione parodistica del guerriero indiano con la giovane: in entrambi i casi il protagonista lamenta, commiserandosi, l'incapacità di giungere a una soluzione del dilemma che l'attanaglia; Medea vagheggia ripetutamente il suicidio, mentre Morreo (cui Nonno attribuisce i patimenti di Medea, ma non il pudore che la spinge a pensare di togliersi la vita), si domanda se non debba forse, per risolvere i propri guai, uccidere l'amata."

48 Cf. Hymnus' wish to die in 15.316–362.

doubting content of the speech and its balanced form. It is difficult to explain such a choice on rhetorical grounds, as it is a general rule that form and content should be in harmony. Did he perhaps want to draw his audience's attention to the structural parallel with Apollonius and therefore abstained from any further elaborations?

Both speeches also have to be seen in their context as part of a series of "elegiac" soliloquies: the three soliloquies of the enamoured Medea (*Argon.* 3.464–470, 636–644 and 771–801) and the four soliloquies of the unhappy Morrheus (*D.* 33.239–262, 33.301–316, 34.8–18 and 34.50–80). The former express the same doubts over and again. They characterize Medea realistically and consistently as a love-struck young woman, fiercely torn between contradictory feelings. In Nonnus' series of soliloquies of Morrheus, on the other hand, a larger diversity of topics is developed and only the one discussed here contains such doubts.

(1) 33.239–262: Morrheus, the soldier, yields to his love and to his enemies. Topoi of the elegiac *militia amoris* (239–240: ἔρρε, βέλος καὶ τόξον ἀρήιον· ἱμερόεν γάρ | φέρτερον ἄλλο βέλος με βιάζεται· ἔρρε, φαρέτρη): military surrendering to love and the Bacchic army.

(2) 33.301–316: Morrheus, the astronomer, reads Zeus' amorous adventures in the stars and comments on his own situation in mythological terms. He expresses the wish to metamorphosize like Zeus and speculates about the (mythological) reasons for Aphrodite's present cruelty to him. For a second time, he decides to disarm (313–314: ἔρρε, φαρέτρη, | ἔρρετε, φοίνια τόξα καὶ ἠνεμόεντες ὀιστοί) and to surrender to Aphrodite, who he regards as stronger than Ares.

(3) 34.8–18: Morrheus, the desperate lover, expresses his doubts.

(4) 34.103–121: Morrheus, reassured by a dream, describes Chalcomede's natural beauty and imagines changing her name to Chrysomede (with bucolic and elegiac topoi).

After the first two soliloquies, in which Morrheus fully yields to Aphrodite, to Dionysus and to his love for Chalcomede, the sudden doubts come as a surprise to the reader. The doubts are not entirely in accordance with his previous characterization as an obstinate lover. The influence of Apollonius is, probably, a more important factor here than has been assumed.[49] I fully agree with Nicola

49 Gerlaud (2005, 96) only mentions Euripides' *Medea* as a parallel for this passage. Vian's overview of echoes of Apollonius in Nonnus (2001) only mentions Nicaea's wish to commit suicide in 16.390–392 (after being raped) as a parallel for Medea's inner conflicts. The

Montenz that the doubts of Morrheus, although there are no textual parallels, have to be seen as an important part of the overall imitation of Apollonius in the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode.

On the other hand, the diversity of topics in Morrheus' soliloquies can also be seen as a good example of poetic ποικιλία in Nonnus. By choosing variation over consistency of characterization, he displays his poetic ingenuity.[50] The variation emphasizes the individual poetic qualities of each of the soliloquies and gives them a higher autonomy within the epic narrative than the speeches of Medea in Apollonius, which primarily serve the narrative goal of characterizing one of the protagonists.[51] Simultaneously, when regarding the *Dionysiaca* as a whole, the speeches of Morrheus, however, also contribute to the narrative continuity that is created by the recurrence of certain themes and motives (especially the themes of war and love,[52] the metamorphoses of Zeus[53] and the appropriateness of the character's names[54]).

comparison between this speech and Medea's "interior monologues" has only (briefly) been made by Montenz 2004, 108–109 and Agosti 2004, 519.

50 For a similar procedure in Nonnus, see book 42 and my discussion of Dionysus' varied courting speeches to Beroe in chapter 6, or book 11, in which Dionysus successively articulates two different θρῆνοι (11.255–312, 315–350), lamenting the death of Ampelus.

51 See also D'Ippolito 1964, 108–109: "L'episodio manca di una vera trama narrativa e presenta per questo, forse più che le altre parti del poema, le intemperanze retoriche caratteristiche del poeta. La maggior parte dell'episodio infatti non è costituita che da monologhi di scuola: quattro volte Morreo pronunzia lamenti d'amore […] ed una lamentazione è pure sulla bocca di Calcomeda […] ma si possono ancora aggiungere il discorso di Teti […] e le lunghe interrogazioni della sentinella Issaco […]."

52 The themes of war and love are not only prominent in the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode. Also in other episodes love is described as war (cf. the military vocabulary used by Semele when she fulminates against her rival Hera in 9.208–242, see chapter 5.3.3) or soldiers are defeated by love (cf. the topos of beauty as a weapon in both war and love, see Gigli Picardi 1985, 57–63), like Ares by (his love for) Aphrodite (cf. 29.323–381, see under 2.4.3.2).

53 Close parallels of Morrheus' wish to metamorphosize like Zeus in order to win the beloved can be found in Dionysus' "elegiac" soliloquies of 16.21–70 (in love with Nicaea) and 42.114–123 (in love with Beroe). Miguélez Cavero (2017 forthcoming) lists no less than 11 catalogues of mortal and divine loves of Zeus in the *Dionysiaca* (often including metamorphoses): 5.609–621, 7.117–128, 8.132–151, 8.290–305, 8.361–366, 9.208–242, 31.212–227, 32.63–75 and 47.694–704.

54 New characters in the *Dionysiaca* are often introduced with a telling name; which can be thematized, either by immortalizing the characters' names by naming an object or concept after them (cf. Staphylus' family in books 19 and 20, see also Miguélez Cavero 2014) or by—as in Chalcomede's case—thematizing the appropriateness of the name.

1.3 Nonnus and Quintus (or Libanius): Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους;

My final example is part of the opening episode of book 35. It is the final scene before the dénouement of both the Morrheus and Chalcomede and the Διὸς ἀπάτη episodes. In books 33–35, the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* creates suspense by alternating the focus of the narration: now on the war between the Indians and Bacchants, then again on the unhappy love of Morrheus and his encounters with Chalcomede. The climax of the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode (*D.* 35.97–222 in which Chalcomede pretends to accept marriage, knowing that her virginity will be protected by a snake, and persuades Morrheus to take a bath and disarm)[55] is preceded by a last scene of war, in which an anonymous Indian soldier falls desperately in love with the anonymous Bacchante he has just killed.

The parallel between the necrophilia of the soldier and the famous story of Achilles and Penthesilea is made explicit by the narrator by means of a simile (*D.* 35.27–30):

> Καί νύ κε νεκρὸν ἔχων πόθον ἄπνοον, ὥς περ Ἀχιλλεύς,
> ἄλλην Πενθεσίλειαν ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο δοκεύων
> ψυχρὰ κονιομένης προσπτύξατο χείλεα νύμφης,
> εἰ μὴ Δηριαδῆος ἐδείδιεν ὄγκον ἀπειλῆς.

> Feeling desire for a lifeless corpse, as Achilles did—seeing a new Penthesileia on the ground, he would have kissed the cold lips of the girl, prostrate in the dust, had he not feared the weight of the threat of Deriades.

Although the subject (the connection with Achilles and Penthesilea) and the engagement with the epic tradition in the broader context of this episode would suggest a certain level of engagement with Quintus' account of this famous story (*Posth.* 1.622–830), only a few minor textual parallels can be found.[56] The contrast between the passage in Nonnus and the chaste version

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Aura's name is also thematized in 48.892–895 (see Conclusion); the Cyclopes Argilipos, Steropes and Brontes in 28.172–205 prove the appropriateness of their names on the battlefield.

55 Chalcomede is convinced to (continue) play(ing) her role as seductress by Thetis, who in book 33 appears to her on the beach, consoles her and prophesizes that a snake, hidden in her girdle, will ultimately protect her virginity (*D.* 33.324–345).

56 See notes ad loc. in the editions of Frangoulis 2006a and Agosti 2004: *D.* 35.21: ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο περισκαίρουσα ~ *Posth.* 1.622–624: κατ' οὔδεος [...] περισπαίρουσα, and *D.* 35.29: κονιομένης ~

of Quintus is huge: Quintus' Penthesilea is not indecently exposed in her fall and his Achilles never tries to kiss or caress the dead body.[57] More important for my approach is the fact that, in Quintus, Achilles also never speaks about his love, whereas the speech of the soldier in Nonnus (35.37–77) occupies more than 2/3 of the entire passage (41 lines of speech and only 17 lines of context, including introductory and capping formulas).

1.3.1 *What Achilles and Penthesilea Would Have Said*

As already suggested by Agosti and Miguélez Cavero, a more interesting parallel for this speech than Quintus may be Libanius,[58] to whom is attributed a series of progymnasmata which contains two alternative ethopoeae presenting what Achilles could have said after falling in love with Penthesilea after her death. Both are entitled Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐρῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Πενθεσιλείας.

Several parallels can be found between the speech in Nonnus and either of the ethopoeae by Libanius. All three of the speeches emphasize the paradoxical idea that a killer can be defeated by his victim because of the greater power of her loveliness (the arms of a woman), and do this in a similar way—using

Posth. 1.621 μίγη κονίῃ. The love of Achilles and Penthesilea is only hinted at (or not even that) in Triphiodorus (*The Sack of Troy* 33–39).

57 This contrast has led Frangoulis (2006a, 5) to assume that Nonnus may have used an alternative version of the story, where Achilles actually performs the act of necrophilia: "Par ailleurs, si Nonnos renvoie formellement à Quintus, sa peinture est aux antipodes de celle du poète des *Posthomériques*, qui se veut décente et morale. L'Indien anonyme, lui, veut s'unir à sa victime (v. 35), ce qui laisse penser que Nonnos se réfère à la version de la λαγνεία d'Achille qui figurait dans la νεωτέρα ἱστορία et prétendait, contrairement à la version courante, que celui-ci s'était uni à la défunte." Giraudet (2012, 52–53) connects the motif of the necrophilia with the novelistic tradition and compares the dead Bacchante to the dead Drusiana in the *Apocryphal Acts of John*.

58 The example is treated briefly in Agosti 2005, 48 (+ appendix: 59): "Esemplificativa del modo nonniano di riadattare le strutture retoriche è la rielaborazione del 'motivo di Pentesilea', più volte oggetto dei progimnasmi di Libanio (*Ethop*. 12, 13 Foerster). [...] Il discorso pronunciato dall'Indiano è una etopea assai elaborata, incentrata nella prima parte sul paradosso della sconfitta che trionfa e della morte che vince (per cui si può mettere a confronto l'inizio delle due etopee di Libanio), per poi scivolare, secondo il gusto nonniano, nell'erotico e anche nella necrofilia (un'accusa del resto che la tradizione aveva rivolto ad Achille) e infine nelle preziosità paradossografiche (un elenco di rimedi miracolosi per resuscitare la donna). Un divertimento letterario raffinato, elegante e più che malizioso, che avrà deliziato il pubblico la sera della declamazione di questo canto delle *Dionisiache*." Miguélez Cavero 2008, 336 follows Agosti in using it as an example of an ethopoea in Nonnus.

word play and sharp antitheses. Both Nonnus' soldier and Libanius' Achilles use the word ἄπιστος to describe their love for a dead girl (*D.* 35.44: Ξεῖνον ἔχω καὶ ἄπιστον ἐγὼ πόθον ~ *Prog.* 11.12.1: Ἄπιστον καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ διήγημα). The first lines of each speech can serve as an illustration of the similar style and tone. Common to all is a clear emphasis on the paradoxical nature of the love for an enemy just killed.

> *D.* 35.37–39:
> Παρθενικὴ ῥοδόπηχυ, τεὸν δυσέρωτα φονῆα
> οὔτασας οὐταμένη, φθιμένη ζώοντα δαμάζεις,
> καὶ σὺ τεὸν βλεφάροισιν ὀιστεύεις ὀλετῆρα·
>
> Maiden of the rosy arms, wounded yourself you have wounded your lovesick slayer, slain you conquer the living, you pierce your own destroyer with the arrows of your eyes.
>
> *Prog.* 11.12.1:
> Ἄπιστον καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ διήγημα. μετὰ τρόπαιον δακρύω, μετὰ νίκην ὀδύρομαι. ἑάλων κατορθώσας τὸν πόλεμον. τῆς πολεμίας, οἴμοι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, κρατῶν ἐγενόμην αἰχμάλωτος·
>
> This story is unbelievable even after suffering it. After setting up battle trophies, I shed tears; after victory, I lament. I have been defeated, though having succeeded in the war. And in defeating my enemy—alas for my misfortune—I became a captive;
>
> transl. GIBSON 2008
>
> *Prog.* 11.13.1:
> Ἄγε, τί ταῦτα; μετὰ νίκην δεδουλώμεθα, μετὰ τρόπαιον πεπτώκαμεν. οἷα τῶν κειμένων τὰ σκῦλα. οὕτω λαφυραγωγοῦνται νεκροί.
>
> Come now, what is this? After victory, we have been enslaved; after setting up battle trophies, we have fallen. Such are the spoils of those who lie dead. Thus do corpses take plunder.
>
> transl. GIBSON 2008

Both in Libanius (*Prog.* 11.13) and in Nonnus, the killer also curses his own weapons (*D.* 35.53–54: ἐρρέτω αἰχμή, | ἐρρέτω ἡμετέρης παλάμης θράσος ~ *Prog.* 11.13.3: ἐγὼ καὶ τῇ μελίᾳ μέμφομαι καὶ μισῶ ξίφος ἐν ᾧ νενίκηκα). In all three speeches the killer, moreover, expresses the unattainable wish that another

course of action had prevented the beloved's death (compare *D.* 35.54–57: Why did I not kill Satyrs instead? with *Prog.* 11.12.3: What if she were naked and thus seduced me while still alive? and *Prog.* 11.13.3: Are there no other paths towards victory?).

These parallels, however, do not necessarily point towards a direct influence of Libanius' progymnasmata on Nonnus' poetry. More important are the shared generic characteristics and the fact that this subject was used in Late Antiquity for ethopoeae. The pathetical tone (with many short sentences and emotional exclamations) and the emphasis on paradoxes are characteristic of the category of ethopoeae expressing πάθος.[59]

Nonnus' speech, however, contains a remarkable novelty compared to the speeches of Libanius. The speaker includes, for his part, an example of embedded direct speech that could itself be regarded as an ethopoea, or rather an example of εἰδωλοποιία (cf. Apth. *Prog.* 11.1.8–12, if the person speaking is dead), answering the hypothetical question "What would the ghost of Penthesilea say when Achilles falls in love with her after her death?" Unfortunately, the lines introducing this remarkable example of speech within speech are disturbed by problems of text transmission. The transition between the soldier wishing her to speak and the start of the speech disappears in a lacuna. Her words, rejecting the attentions of her killer, cannot really be imagined as the reaction he wished for in 35.47–48. Or are they? The missing line would probably provide the necessary context.[60] In this second ethopoea, a second perspective on the story is given. The paradoxical situation of a killer falling in love with his victim is now emphasized from her perspective. In four short sentences (35.49–53),

59 See Agosti 2005, 47: "Lo stile commatico, mirante ad esprimere pateticità attraverso asindeti, apostrofi, esortazioni, anafore, assonanze, ridondanze, è una delle caratteristiche dell'etopea che si ritrova, ad es., sia negli esercizi di Libanio o di Procopio, sia nei versi di Nonno." According to Ps.-Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata*, there are different kinds of ethopoeae: ethical (focus on characterization), pathetical (focus on emotion) or mixed (9.6: Εἰσὶ δὲ αἳ μὲν ἠθικαί, αἳ δὲ παθητικαί, αἳ δὲ μικταί), and definite (known character) and indefinite (anonymous characters) (9.3: ὡρισμένων καὶ ἀορίστων προσώπων). The same distinction between ethical and pathetical is also made in Apth. *Prog.* 11.2 (11.2.2–3: καὶ παθητικαὶ μὲν αἱ κατὰ πάντα πάθος σημαίνουσαι "Pathetical are those showing emotion in everything" (transl. Kennedy 2003)). The speech of our soldier is clearly an example of an indefinite pathetical ethopoea, the speeches of Achilles by Libanius of definite pathetical ethopoeae.

60 The correct reading of the first half of 35.49 is much disputed. Frangoulis (2006a, 118) prefers τοῖον ἔπος βοόωσα over the suggested alternatives βοόωντα (Marcellus 1856) and βοόω σε (Graefe 1826). Frangoulis interprets the participle as a concessive ("Je voudrais que tu me parles, même si c' est pour me dire …").

again with word play, four times a variation of the same paradoxical idea is expressed: why love the one you have killed?

> ‘Κυλινδομένην ἐπὶ γαίῃ,
> ἣν κτάνες, ἣν σύλησας, ἀτάσθαλε, κάλλιπε κούρην·
> ἣν σέο χαλκὸς ἔταμνεν, ἐμοῦ μὴ ψαῦε χιτῶνος·
> τί κρατέεις κενεῶνα, τὸν οὔτασας; Ἴσχεο δειλῆς
> ἀμφαφόων ἐμὸν ἕλκος, ὅ μοι πόρες.’

> ‘You killed me, you plundered me, rolling upon the ground! Then let a girl be, scoundrel. Touch not my tunic, when your steel has cut me! Why do you hold the side which you have wounded? Stroke no more the cruel wound which you gave me!’

After this embedded speech, the soldier resumes his own words. The last part of his soliloquy is a typically Nonnian, long catalogue of possible (but inaccessible) ways of bringing her back to life (35.58–77).[61] The end of the catalogue (with an elaborate apostrophe to Glaucus, telling the—for the context less relevant—story of his miraculous healing) also rather abruptly ends the speech, without a last reference to the dead Bacchante or the soldier’s love. After that, only a one-line capping formula follows to end the episode as well: Ὣς εἰπὼν παράμειβε, νέκυν πόθον ἐν φρεσὶ κεύθων (35.78).

The abrupt way in which both the monologue of the Indian soldier and the episode is ended is an extra argument for interpreting it as an autonomous whole, thus even more strikingly resembling a rhetorical exercise. It also underlines the static character of the episode. We enter the story only after the Bacchante has already been killed (35.21). The narrator then builds up an erotic tension (sight: 35.28, 35.31–32, desire to kiss: 35.29, touch: 35.33–34, desire to sleep with her: 35.35) before toning it down at its climax by inserting a speech, and finally the speaker walks off-scene as soon as he has stopped speaking. Nothing really happens. The scene could, in fact, be read as a painting, commented upon from three perspectives in total: the narrator’s (35.21–36) and that of both of the characters in the two intertwined ethopoeae, with a shared emphasis on the paradoxical nature of love for one’s own victim (also in the narrator’s text, for example 35.25: καὶ φθιμένη νίκησε).

61 Cf. Frangoulis 2006a, 7: “Comme souvent chez Nonnos, le discours, un peu long et, au début, répétitif, s’achève sur une énumération érudite qui affaiblit le caractère pathétique de la scène.”

As a whole, however, the scene not only causes a delay in the expected climax of the Morrheus and Chalcomede story. This portrait of an anonymous soldier falling in love with the anonymous Bacchante he has just killed (21–78) can also be read as a mise-en-abyme for Morrheus' love for his beautiful enemy Chalcomede. The description of the dying Bacchante (35.21–26), as is pointed out by Frangoulis (2006a, 116), recalls the description of the deaths of Morrheus' former victims and his insensitivity to their beauty, elaborated upon in 30.213–219.[62] By the start of book 35, Morrheus is no longer this insensitive killer, but a desperate lover who refuses to kill his beloved Chalcomede and walks with open eyes into the trap set for him by Aphrodite.

The theme of healing and resurrection as developed in the soldier's speech, moreover, serves as a connecting thread between this passage and a number of other passages and episodes in the *Dionysiaca* (Dionysus' role in healing Hymenaeus and other wounded allies in book 29, Tylus' resurrection in book 25.451–552, Aristaeus' role as a professional healer in 17.357–377).

1.4 Speech Composition and Narrative Structures

The examples analysed in this chapter show Nonnus as an heir of both the epic and the rhetorical tradition. Not only the general story line in books 31–35, but also the speeches of the characters are composed in playful imitation of his epic predecessors. Entire dialogues in Homer find an equivalent in Nonnus. As I have demonstrated, this rewriting process not only consists of an (often humorous) transfer of the story of the *Iliad* and *Argonautica* to the context of the Indian War, but also of a rhetorical transformation.

62 Compare 30.216–219 with 35.21–26. 30.216–219: οὐδὲ περὶ στέρνοισιν ἴσον τροχοειδέι μήλῳ | μαζὸν ἰδὼν ἐλέαιρεν, ἀκαμπέα κέντορα μίτρης, | οὐδὲ βαθυνομένοιο τομὴν ᾐδέσσατο μηροῦ· | ἀλλὰ τόσον κτάνε κάλλος ἀώριον· "No pity when he saw the breast with its two round apples, and the firm pressure on the breastband; no respect for the deep cleft of the thigh. No! all that beauty he killed in the bud." 35.21–26: Καί τις ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο περισκαίρουσα κονίῃ | παρθενικὴ γυμνοῦτο· παρελκομένου δὲ χιτῶνος | ἀγλαΐῃ κεκόρυστο καὶ ἱμείροντα φονῆα | οὔτασεν οὐτηθεῖσα, βέλος δέ οἱ ἔπλετο μορφή, | καὶ φθιμένη νίκησε· κατ' ἀντιβίοιο δὲ γυμνοί| μηροὶ ἐθωρήχθησαν, ὀιστευτῆρες ἐρώτων. "But a girl rolling upon the ground was bared, her dress was pulled aside, and armed with her own radiance, wounded she wounded her lusting slayer; her beauty was her bolt, and dying she conquered; her naked thighs were as weapons, and sped the arrows of the Loves against her slayer." See also Frangoulis 2006a, 5: "ce passage peut être considéré comme une 'mise en abyme' de l'ensemble de la Chalcomédie. Toutefois, quelle que soit la brutalité de Morrheus, la tentation nécrophile lui est étrangère."

This transformation is most clearly visible in the many persuasive speeches in this episode, in which argumentation has become a much more important factor than in the imitated models. Instead of promising rewards (cf. speech to Hypnus, speech to Eros), the speakers motivate their interlocutors to act on their behalf by means of arguments, combined with a strong reliance on ἦθος (the construction of a suitable identity as a speaker) and πάθος (playing on the emotions of their interlocutors). However, the contrastive pair of speeches by Hera and Aphrodite, each arguing the same case from a different perspective also demonstrates that these arguments have little absolute value, as they can easily be reversed. The rhetorical resourcefulness of the author is on display and whether Pasithea is Hera's (book 31) or Dionysus' daughter (book 35) depends on which of both options provides the strongest argument at that point.

Furthermore, there also seems to be a correlation between the rhetorical character of the speeches and the reduction of dialogical exchange in Nonnus. Although part of one of Nonnus' rare "real" dialogues, the central speech of the encounter of Hera and Aphrodite is a long oration-like speech that renders all further questions and interventions unnecessary. In this respect, Hera's speech resembles Iris' speech to Hypnus, which is written to replace an entire dialogue in Homer and, in order to be successful, already "anticipates" the objections that (the Iliadic) Hypnus is expected to have.

The examples of the speeches by Morrheus and the Indian soldier show a different aspect of Nonnus' rhetorical transformation of epic speech. As is the case for many speeches in the *Dionysiaca*—much more so than in Quintus, Apollonius or Homer (see especially 3.3.2)—they are soliloquies; there is no audience of characters to overhear the speech. In contrast with Medea's famous "interior monologues", Morrheus' speeches seem to aim at maximum variation rather than contributing to a consistent characterization of the hero. The speech of the Indian soldier, on the other hand, is part of an intermezzo without any direct consequences for the plot, a self-contained piece of poetry, which could be read independently (like the ethopoeae of Libanius with which this speech has so much in common). Despite its rather loose connection to the plotline of the episode in which it is inserted, however, it also has a key function for our interpretation of the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode, as the narrative invites us to compare and contrast the soldier's words and behaviour with Morrheus'. Two important changes can be detected, when comparing Nonnus to earlier epic: within the episodes in which they are inserted, the speeches have become largely autonomous wholes, but simultaneously they also have adopted a new role as connecting threads between several episodes as they foreground themes and motives that run throughout the entire epic.

One of the preliminary conclusions that can be drawn from these examples is that traditional dialogical exchange in Nonnus seems to have been substituted to a large extent by new and different means that connect individual speeches and enhance the structural unity of the epic narrative: the occurrence of paired speeches, the occurrence of speeches in series and the constant recurrence of certain themes and rhetorical patterns. The following chapters will further elaborate on these three unifying factors.

CHAPTER 2

Types of Epic Speech: The Battle Exhortation

Also in this second chapter, I will compare Nonnus' use of direct speech to that of his Greek epic predecessors, but this time not by comparing episodes connected through direct imitation, as in the previous chapter, but by looking at a frequently occurring "type" of speech and how certain (epic) conventions are reflected in Nonnus' use of this type. As a case study, I present an analysis of battle exhortations in the *Dionysiaca*. I will analyse the use of commonplaces, the rhetorical structure and the position of these speeches in the narrative.

By the term "type of epic speech" I refer to a group of speeches in epic poetry which occur in a similar context and are pronounced with similar objectives. My division into types is, therefore, a content-based classification. Which and how many types of speech can be discerned, depends largely on whether certain situations occur in the narrative or not. The *Iliad*, for example, does not contain any complaints of unrequited love—whereas in the *Dionysiaca*, with its many amorous detours, there is a small but distinctive group of speeches that could be categorized as such.[1]

In 1939, in the wake of Walter Arend's study of type scenes in Homer (*Die typischen Scenen bei Homer* 1933), Anton Fingerle published his book *Typik der Homerische Reden*, a first extensive study of direct speech in Homer. He divides the speeches in Homer into content-based types of speech, starting from the initial observation that in each type it is also possible to discern a number of recurring themes and motifs. His 14 different speech types are: Feldherrnreden,[2] Kampfaufrufe,[3] Kampfreden,[4] Triumphreden, Totenklagen, Klagereden, Trost- und Ermunterungsreden, Bittreden, Schelt-und Drohreden,[5] Spottreden, Lobreden, Begrüßung- und Abschiedsreden, Botenauftrag und Botenbericht and Traumreden.

1 See also under 1.2.2 and esp. chapter 6 for a discussion of speech types in an amatory context.

2 This category approximately corresponds with what I will call "generals' exhortations" (see below under 2.2.1).

3 This category is defined by Fingerle as battle exhortations by individuals to individuals.

4 This category is defined by Fingerle as defiant speeches addressed to the enemy during battle.

5 In this category, Fingerle discusses speeches issuing a threat, but not in a battlefield-context. The "Kampfreden" could, in fact, be seen as a subcategory of this type, but within a battlefield-context.

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Several of these speech types in Homer can be connected (and, in fact, already in antiquity were connected) with the rhetorical speech types that were described in later times and in the theoretical treatment of which examples from Homer are often regarded as the "prototype". Menander Rhetor, for example, refers to Chryses' prayer to Apollo (*Il.* 1.451–456) as a good example of a "cletic hymn" (Men. Rhet. 335), Odysseus' goodbye speech to the Phaeacians (*Od.* 13.38–46) as a good example of a συντακτικὸς λόγος (Men. Rhet. 430) and Hecabe's and Andromache's laments after the death of Hector (*Il.* 22.431–436 and 477–514) as good examples of a μονῳδία (Men. Rhet. 434). That Homer is also the first point of reference for the speech type of the battle exhortation, can be seen in Plato's *Ion*, where the silly rhapsode proudly states that he knows what a general should say to exhort his soldiers because of his intimate knowledge of Homer (540d).

In his book *Generic Composition* (1972, 2007²), Francis Cairns convincingly argues that knowledge of the conventions and recurring commonplaces (topoi) of such speech types, which he calls genres, was part of shared cultural knowledge, which allowed contemporaries to recognize examples belonging to these "genres" and interpret them with a certain set of expectations. Cairns also successfully applies this theory to the analysis of literary texts. After analysing a large number of literary examples of each genre and—if present—ancient rhetorical theory describing it, he tries to deduce the ancient audience's expectation patterns. This knowledge is then used as a "generic" model of analysis for new or more problematic examples of the same genre.[6]

Likewise, in this chapter, I start from the assumption that Nonnus and his audience shared the knowledge of what a battle exhortation conventionally looked like. This shared knowledge consequently allows the narrator to anticipate his narratee's expectations by in turn following these conventions and deviating from them.

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6 A slightly different approach to speech types and speech genres in ancient literature is found in the work of Richard Martin (1989) and Elizabeth Minchin (2007), both working on Homer, who connect the content-based typology of Fingerle with the speech-act theory developed by John Austin and John Searle and the behaviouristic approach of Mikhail Bakhtin: "John Searle starts from the assumption that the minimal unit of human communication is not the sentence but the performance of certain kinds of acts, such as describing, explaining, apologizing and thanking" (Minchin 2007, 10). Bakhtin, like Cairns, emphasizes our cultural competence to recognize and interpret speech genres: "We learn to cast our speech in generic forms and when hearing others' speech we guess its genre from the very first words … If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to originate them during the

2.1 Defining the Corpus: The Epic and the Historiographical Tradition

Because it is one of the speech types most frequently found in both the *Iliad* and the *Dionysiaca*, the battle exhortation provides abundant material for a comparative analysis. The exact number of examples to be taken into account is partly a matter of interpretation. Joachim Latacz (1977, 248–250) lists 65 examples in the *Iliad*. Anton Fingerle (1939, 82–129) had earlier listed 47 "Feldherrnreden" and 43 "Kampfaufrufe", making the distinction between exhortations by a commander to the troops and by individuals to individuals. My own, more inclusive, count resulted in 97 examples, still excluding more exceptional cases such as Hector's "exhortation" to his horses (*Il.* 8.185–197) and Scamander's call for help to the river Simoeis (*Il.* 21.308–323).[7] This number, approximately 13% of all speeches in the *Iliad*, however, also includes speeches only part of which is exhortative (combined, for example, with prayer).[8] In Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, I have counted 26 examples (8.5% of all speeches in the *Dionysiaca*) and also in Quintus' *Posthomerica* I have counted a comparatively high number of battle exhortations (19 speeches, almost 11% of all speeches).[9] One of the 8 speeches—and probably the most prominent of all—in Triphiodorus' epyllionic *Sack of Troy* is the exhortation by Odysseus to the Greek leaders.

In the *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*, in which no wars are recounted, battle exhortations are almost entirely absent.[10] In fact, the *Dionysiaca* has a sur-

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speech process and construct each utterance at will for the first time, speech communication would be almost impossible" (Bakhtin 1986, 78–79 (translation), original 1953).

7 My own list is the result of a combination of the data of Latacz (1977) and Fingerle (1939), to which a number of examples are added based on my own readings. A full list can be extracted from my online database. Latacz' 65 examples are all included in my list. From Fingerle's 90 examples I have excluded 10 because they are, in my opinion, not battle exhortations but rather neutral announcements and proposals (for example *Il.* 3.82–83, 86–94 and 97–110, all concerning the duel of Paris and Menelaos).

8 This is the case in, for example, Agamemnon's exhortation to the troops in *Il.* 8.228–244. Nine of all 17 lines of this speech are a prayer directed to Zeus, which also explains the above average length of this exhortation (see 2.2 below on the length of exhortations in Homer and Nonnus).

9 The exact references can be extracted from my online database. Interesting (but not included in this number) is also Menelaos' speech to the Greeks in *Posth.* 6.9–31 which could be regarded an inverse exhortation, cf. 2.4.3 below.

10 Only a few battle exhortations can be found in the *Odyssey*. They occur during the scene of the slaughtering of the suitors in *Od.* 22 and during the final fight in *Od.* 24: 22.226–235 (Athena to Odysseus), 22.248–254 (Agelaos to the suitors), 24.506–509 (Odysseus to Telemachus) and 24.517–519 (Athena to Laertes).

prisingly large number of exhortations, taking into account its relatively small number of battle books compared to the *Iliad* or *Posthomerica*.[11]

Except for the work of Latacz (1977), who compares the exhortations in the *Iliad* with the elegiac poetry of Callinus and Tyrtaeus, scholarly research concerning battle exhortations mostly connects the epic tradition (in most cases only represented by Homer) with the historiographical tradition. Especially of interest is the work of Juan Carlos Iglesias Zoido and his team of co-workers on the "Proyecto arenga".[12] In their work, several questions have been treated that can be transposed to Nonnus research. Iglesias Zoido takes up the discussion raised by Mogens Herman Hansen in 1993 (reactions: Pritchett 1994, Hansen 2001, Pritchett 2002) on whether or not the long battle exhortations in Thucydides and other historians reflect an actual practice (see also Iglesias Zoido 2007, 2008, 2010).[13] Assuming that these exhortations have at least been elaborated upon by the historian, he investigates their function in the structure of the historiographical narrative, the degree to which historiography is influenced by the rhetorical and literary training of its authors and how the soon canonical speeches of Thucydides for their part also were of influence in the rhetorical school tradition. He convincingly argues that, compared to Homer or Herodotus, Thucydides has introduced a new kind of battle exhortation, fulfilling "new functions in the structure of his work" (Iglesias Zoido 2007, 146). He continues to describe Thucydides' innovations as follows:

> The historian does not restrict himself to reproducing the words spoken by the generals; rather, he seeks first and foremost to look ahead (setting out the tactics that will be played out afterwards), to show the character and intelligence of a general, and lastly to elucidate the real reasons

11 Apart from the Indian War narrative (books 13–40), which includes several battles (in books 14, 17, 22–23, 27–30, 32, 34–36 and 39), the *Dionysiaca* also tells the story of the Typhonomachy (book 2), the battle of Cadmus against the Ismenian dragon (4), the battle between Dionysus and Lycurgus (20–21), the battle between Poseidon and Dionysus over Beroe (43), Dionysus' battle against Perseus (47) and the Gigantomachy (48). Even within the Indian War narrative, however, there are larger episodes in which the theme of war recedes into the background (cf. the story of Hymnus and Nicaea (15–16), hospitality at the court of Staphylus (18–19), the romance of Morrheus and Chalcomede (33–35)).

12 For more information on this research project on historiographical speeches (from antiquity up to the renaissance period), see http://www.eweb.unex.es/eweb/arengas/objetivos.htm.

13 A *status quaestionis* of the research on Thucydides' battle exhortations can be found in Iglesias Zoido 2008, 19–23.

> behind a victory or a defeat. Having to cope with these new functions explains the scale of certain speeches that could hardly have been heard in full by an army drawn up in battle formation.

The differences, pointed out by Iglesias Zoido, between Thucydides and the epic and earlier historiographical tradition could at first sight be put on a par with those between Nonnus on the one hand, and Homer and Quintus on the other.[14] Nonnus' exhortations are much more elaborate, and, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, are also different with regard to their place and function in the narrative.

For a rhetorical study of battle exhortations, Iglesias Zoido draws on the preliminary work of Josef Albertus (1908, 55), who was the first to connect the topoi of the exhortation with the τελικὰ κεφάλαια or "heads of purpose", a concept which is part of the ancient rhetorical theory about the invention of arguments for symbouleutic oratory. The argumentation of a speech must make clear that the cause is just (δίκαιον), expedient (συμφέρον), noble (καλόν), feasible (δυνατόν) and mindful of the potential consequences (ἐκβησόμενον).[15]

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14 Quintus also shows himself as a true heir of the Homeric tradition in his 16 battle exhortations, both regarding the length of the speeches and the topoi used. Remarkable, however, is the frequency of the occurrence of the topos that it is noble to die for your country (including the variant that it is better to die than to flee). The topos was famously first developed in *Il.* 15.494–499 (exhortation by Hector), but Quintus, more Homeric than Homer, uses it in no less than six exhortations (54% of the in total eleven exhortations by Greek/Trojan leaders to their troops), namely in 1.409–435, 2.27–40, 3.190–211, 6.443–451, 9.275–283 and 11.217–220. The topos has also been famously used by Tyrtaeus (fr. 10.1–2 West) and Horace (*Odes* 3.2.13).

15 Josef Albertus (1908, 55) refers to Hermogenes of Tarsus' *Περὶ τῶν στάσεων* and the commentary on this work by Syrianus (2.71.3–11). Aelius Theon (116–117 Spengel) defines a very similar set of instructions, specifically for the exhortation (my emphasis): προτρέποντες τοίνυν ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι ἐφ' ὃ προτρέπομεν, καὶ **δυνατὸν** γενέσθαι καὶ **ῥᾴδιον** καὶ **καλὸν** καὶ **πρέπον** ἐστίν· ὅτι **συμφέρον**, ὅτι **δίκαιον**, ὅτι ὅσιον διττὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἢ πρὸς θεοὺς ἢ πρὸς τετελευτηκότας, ὅτι **ἡδύ**, ὅτι μὴ μόνοι πράττομεν μηδὲ πρῶτοι, ὅτι εἰ καὶ πρῶτοι, πολὺ κρεῖττον ἄρξασθαι καλῶν ἔργων, καὶ ὅτι μὴ μετάνοιαν φέρει πραχθέν. ὑπομνηστέον δὲ καὶ εἴ τι προϋπῆρκται ὑπὸ τοῦ προτρέποντος εἰς τὸν προτρεπόμενον, καὶ εἰ ἄλλοτε πεισθεὶς ὠφελήθη. "In exhorting, then, we shall say that what we are urging is possible and easy and noble and appropriate; that it is beneficial, just, reverent—and the latter is of two sorts, either toward the gods or toward the dead—that it is pleasant; that we are not the only ones doing it or the first; or that even if we are the first, it is much better to be the beginners of noble deeds; and that when done it brings no regret. One should also mention any previous relationship of the exhorter to the person being exhorted, and if the latter at some time was benefitted by being persuaded" (transl. Kennedy 2003). See also Pernot 1986, 265–266 and Pepe 2013, 344 on the heads of purpose.

Albertus' extensive overview of topoi, divided by κεφάλαιον, is limited to the exhortations in historiography. Elizabeth Keitel later expanded the scope by adding Homeric references for each of the five categories (1987, 154–160). Especially for longer exhortations, the heads of purpose are a useful tool for analysis because they help to show the argumentative function of each of the topoi used.[16]

Both the research of Iglesias Zoido regarding the functions of an exhortation in a (historiographical) narrative and the rhetorical model of the heads of purpose will be used and applied to the *Dionysiaca* in this chapter. These concepts and ideas will not only be of help in order to analyse the differences between Nonnus and his epic predecessors, but also to put these differences into perspective when compared to the markedly rhetorical historiographical tradition. Apart from the Greek epic tradition, Lucan's *Pharsalia* will also be used for comparison, not as one of Nonnus' models, but as an epic poem with an equally rhetorical stamp, in which battle exhortations are used in a very similar way.

In the second section of this chapter, I will first make the distinction between different subtypes of battle exhortation in Nonnus and briefly discuss the characteristics of each type. The epic and historiographical traditions will be used for comparison. In 2.3, I will then discuss recurring exhortative topoi in Nonnus with attention to their argumentative functions, drawing on the work of Albertus and Keitel on Homer and the historiographers. Finally, in 2.4 a number of remarkable battle exhortations will be analysed individually in order to serve as a demonstration of Nonnus' creative engagement with the conventions.

2.2 Exhortations in Nonnus: Subtypes of the Battle Exhortation

The heterogeneous group of battle exhortations in Nonnus can be divided into subtypes according to different parameters. The most logical parameters are the identity and status of the speaker (commander, god or fellow combatant), the number and status of the addressees (an entire army or battalion, a single soldier, a commander) and the situation in which the speech is given (during an assembly before the battle, by way of a starting signal immediately before battle or in the heat of battle). In the following I will first discuss the two most

16 Miguélez Cavero (2013c, 198–199) also uses Keitel's discussion of the exhortative topoi to analyse the exhortation by Odysseus in Triphiodorus 120–151.

frequently occurring subtypes in Nonnus: exhortations by generals to their (assembled) troops and exhortations by gods to the armies' commanders.

2.2.1 *Generals' Exhortations*

The most frequent type of battle exhortation in Nonnus—as also in Homer and Quintus—is that of the commander's exhortation to his troops. In Nonnus, 14 of the 26 battle exhortations correspond to this type, in the *Iliad* 34 of 97, in the *Posthomerica* 13 of 19.[17] The only exhortation in Triphiodorus (120–151) also belongs to this category. The list below contains all 14 examples of this type in Nonnus. Four additional speeches, marked with an *, appear below it. These four exceptional cases will be discussed later on. The speech length (in lines) is indicated in brackets.

1.	Typhon to his body parts	2.258–355 (98)	immediately before battle
2.	Dionysus to his army	15.121–131 (11)	between defeating and capturing enemy
3.	Orontes to his army	17.170–191 (22)	immediately before battle
4.	**Deriades to his army**	**27.22–135 (114)**	**immediately before battle**
5.	**Dionysus to his army**	**27.164–220 (54)**	**immediately before battle**
6.	Zeus to Apollo, Athena and Hephaestus[18]	27.252–330 (79)	at an assembly of gods
7.	**Dionysus to his army**	**35.344–391 (48)**	**immediately before battle**
8.	**Deriades to his army**	**36.140–160 (21)**	**immediately before battle**
9.	Morrheus to the Indians	36.344–391 (40)	at an assembly of Indians
10.	**Deriades to his army**	**39.33–73 (41)**	**immediately before battle**
11.	**Dionysus to his army**	**39.78–122 (45)**	**immediately before battle**
12.	**Dionysus to his army**	**43.70–142 (73)**	**immediately before battle**
13.	**Poseidon to his army**	**43.145–191 (47)**	**immediately before battle**
14.	Gaia to the giants	48.15–30 (16)	immediately before battle
*Lycurgus alone		21.135–146 (12)	captured by Ambrosia, after battle
*Dionysus to Deriades		29.304–310 (7)	in the heat of battle
*Pentheus to his servants		44.134–183 (50)	no battle
*Pentheus to his servants		45.220–227 (8)	no battle

17 The exact references can be extracted from the online database.

18 Cf. *Il.* 20.20–30, Zeus to Poseidon.

2.2.1.1 Position, Length and Distribution

With the *Iliad* in mind, one of the most striking features of Nonnus' generals' exhortations is their position within the battle narrative. In the *Iliad* the generals' exhortations occur mostly in the heat of battle. They are directed to the combatants who happen to be nearby, rather than to the assembled troops before battle, which is the standard setting for an exhortation in Nonnus. In 11 of all 14 cases in Nonnus the general's exhortation occurs immediately before the start of battle, twice during an assembly, and never in the heat of battle. The *Iliad* only has six exhortations (out of 34) before the start of battle (3 ×) or during an assembly scene (3 ×). All others occur on the battlefield itself.

A brief look at the situation in Quintus and Triphiodorus seems to indicate that the changed position of generals' exhortations is a late antique feature. In the otherwise very Homeric *Posthomerica*, 6 of the 13 such exhortations are pronounced in the heat of battle, as was most common in Homer, but the rest, a small majority, occur during an assembly scene, as is the case with the only exhortation in Triphiodorus, or immediately before the start of battle.

Another striking feature is the length of Nonnus' generals' exhortations. They are clearly longer than his already-long average. Their average length is 50.6 lines, double that of the overall average in the *Dionysiaca* (24.8 lines).[19] In the *Iliad* or *Posthomerica* on the other hand, the generals' exhortations are about the same length as other speeches.[20]

Regarding the distribution of the generals' exhortations, one can, finally, remark that there is no equivalent in Nonnus (or Quintus, for that matter) of the famous Iliadic construction of a series of exhortations adapted to individual addressees, called ἐπιπώλησις.[21] In Nonnus, on the other hand, more than half of the generals' exhortations (8 of all 14 cases, **in bold** in the list above) are placed

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19 There are four shorter speeches (16 to 22 lines), but the largest group is between 40 and 60 lines long (six examples). Four are exceptionally long (73 to 110 lines each).

20 *Iliad*: average length of 8.3 lines, compared to an overall average speech length of 10.4; *Posthomerica*: average length of 11.4, compared to overall average of 11.8.

21 The term was first used in Plut. *Mor.* 29a, referring to the exhortations in *Il.* 4.225–421. See also Keitel 1987, 161–162 and Iglesias Zoido 2007, 143. Although ἐπιπώλησις is, strictly spoken, absent in Nonnus, one interesting example can be noted. In 29.1–9 the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* describes how Deriades exhorts each of his soldiers individually. Without making use of direct speech, Nonnus here seems to be making a tribute to the Homeric concept of ἐπιπώλησις. Vian (1990, 197 and 333) in his notes on this passage refers to *Il.* 4 and Agosti explains the absence of direct speech as a choice for variation (2004, 287): "Forse per amor di *variatio* Nonno non ha costruito un altro discorso di Deriade, praticando stavolta una contrazione del modello".

in clear juxtaposition with an exhortation by the general of the other party, thus appearing in pairs. I will call them "opposing pairs".

2.2.1.2 Opposing Pairs

In each of these four pairs, the exhortations of the generals of both sides closely follow one another and are composed as each other's counterpart. Three of these four concern the same pair of speakers (Dionysus versus Deriades) and occur at decisive moments in the narrative of the Indian War: after a break in the war narrative and before an important battle.

(1) In book 27, the narrative of the Indian War is resumed after a long break. In book 25 (25.8–10), the narrator brings the reader from the first year of the Indian War to the sixth. Although the story only recounts the end of a ten-month truce (25.307–308), the Indian War is resumed as if virtually nothing has happened in the five-year ellipsis.[22] The battle in book 27 is the first we are informed of after the crossing of the Hydaspes and thus also the first direct confrontation between Dionysus and Deriades in the narrative of the *Dionysiaca*. With 114 lines, Deriades' exhortation (no. 4, 27.22–135) is one of the longest speeches in the *Dionysiaca*.[23] Dionysus' parallel exhortation (no. 5, 27.164–220) is shorter ("only" 54 lines), but similarly structured. Both speeches list the enemy's troops and allies and indicate which strategy will have to be applied for each opponent.[24]

(2) In books 35–36, the paired exhortations do not immediately follow one another, but are separated by the brief episode of the theomachy (36.1–133). Just like the pair in book 27, however, their position in the narrative is immediately after a significant break (after the madness of Dionysus and after the romance of Morrheus and Chalcomede) and before an important battle (the first duel of Deriades and Dionysus in 36.291–393). Moreover, they are clearly interrelated. Both speeches (no. 7, 35.344–391 and no. 8, 36.140–160) make a bold promise (the war will end today)[25] and

22 See also Vian 1990, 12–15.

23 Only five speeches are longer: Actaeon 5.415–532 (118), Teiresias 45.96.215 (120), Eros 11.356–481 (126), Heracles Astrochiton 40.429–573 (145) and Hermes 38.105–434 (330). Deriades' exhortation is the longest speech that is not narrative.

24 Vian 1990, 118–125, 128–131. Whereas the speech of Deriades presents a list of the most important battalions in Dionysus' army, the speech of Dionysus lists Deriades' possible divine allies.

25 Note the keyword σήμερον in both speeches (35.353 and 36.140). See Frangoulis 2006a, 81 (against Collart 1930, 204–206): "On trouve même quelques reprises textuelles dans ses

look ahead to the events after victory (prisoners of war, spolia).[26] Both leaders also refer to their reputation after the war. Whereas Dionysus is concerned about the reaction of the deceased Opheltes' father if he hears his son has not been properly avenged (35.379–380),[27] Deriades claims assuredly that his imminent victory will scare off possible future enemies (36.159–160). His claim is a paraphrase of what Menelaos says before his duel with Paris in *Iliad* 3.353–354.[28]

(3) The third and last pair of exhortations by Dionysus and Deriades is situated after a third break in the war narrative (the truce of books 37–38) and before the final battle of book 39, which will lead to the final duel in book 40 and the death of Deriades. Again, the second speech (no. 11, 39.78–122) can be read as an answer to the first (no. 10, 39.33–73). Whereas Deriades advises his troops to use fire to burn the ships of Dionysus (39.34–38), Dionysus warns his troops against this very strategy of Deriades and gives advice to counter it (39.82–87). Whereas Deriades lengthily argues that Dionysus cannot truly be the son of Zeus (39.53–73), Dionysus in his speech brags about the divine help he could get, not only from his father, but also from his uncle Poseidon, a number of other sea gods, Aeolus and the four winds (39.93–122).[29]

(4) The fourth pair is the only one which is not part of the Indian War narrative. The opposing speeches of Dionysus and Poseidon (no. 12, 43.70–142 and no. 13, 43.145–191) are placed at the beginning of the battle book recounting the armed strife for the hand of Beroe. The number of parallels within this pair is remarkably high. Both speeches refer to the hos-

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paroles d'encouragement et dans la présence de l'adverbe σήμερον: cette promesse d'une victoire totale le jour même a une valeur purement rhétorique et n'indique pas qu'une première version des *Dionysiaques* faisait se terminer la guerre au chant 36."

26 For more detailed correspondences, see Frangoulis 2006a, 80–81.

27 Frangoulis 2006a, 145 refers to *Od.* 24.433–435 for the same motif.

28 Parallel mentioned by Hopkinson 1994a, 17, Agosti 2004, 634 ("ma fuori contesto") and Frangoulis 2006a, 153. But is it purely coincidental that Nonnus reminds us here of the final words spoken by Menelaos immediately before his duel with Paris, which, if it was not for the intervention of Aphrodite, would have ended the Trojan War? The parallel might serve as an indication for the reader that Deriades' boasts of ending the war the same day will remain futile, like also the duel between Menelaos and Paris remained without consequences.

29 Note also the structural resemblance between 39.38: σὺν δορί, σὺν θώρηκι, σὺν ὁλκάσι, σὺν Διονύσῳ (Deriades describing the Bacchic army, which he plans to liquidate in its entirety) and 39.92: ἀγχινεφής, ἀκίχητος, ἀνούτατος, ἠέρι γείτων (Dionysus describing the Indian elephants, which are an advantage for the Indians on land, but not on sea).

pitality Dionysus received in the house of Thetis (43.163–164 ~ 43.95–96). Both generals put emphasis on own past victories and their opponent's past defeats (43.145–146 ~ 43.125–127 (defeat) and 43.181–191 ~ 43.133–138 (victory)). Both speculate about what to do with the hostages after victory (43.154–155, 43.165–168 ~ 43.92–106), but also abruptly change their mind and decide not to take in the Nereids or Bacchantes as housemaids (43.156–157 ~ 43.107–108). The musical instruments mentioned in the opening lines of Dionysus' speech with a reference to their militant battle music are also mentioned in Poseidon's speech, but now lost and submerged in the sea (43.150–154 ~ 43.71–74).[30]

What all these exhortations have in common is their position in the narrative, indicating the start of a new and important battle. The detailed predictions about the course of battle (who will fight against whom) and its consequences (how the defeated enemy will be treated) that can be found in each of these speeches could in fact be regarded as miniature battle narrations, prefiguring the subsequent narrative and (re)introducing the different participants. The above average length of these eight speeches is also an indication of their structural importance.[31]

Opposing pairs, however, are certainly not a phenomenon limited to Nonnus—or to the epic tradition. They can also be found in the *Iliad*, where there are seven passages in which an exhortation on the Greek side is almost immediately followed by one on the Trojan side or vice versa.[32] Thus, 14 of the 34 generals' exhortations in the *Iliad* could be regarded as part of an opposing

30 The extensive analysis of both speeches in Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 107–116 pays little or no attention to the correspondences between them.

31 Seven of our eight paired speeches are markedly above average in length: four are between 40 and 50 lines long, one is 54 lines, another is 73 and the longest one is 114 lines long.

32 Opposing pairs (Trojan-Greek) in the *Iliad*: Hector (8.173–183) and Agamemnon (8.228–290) after a favourable sign of Zeus to the Trojans (shared topics: favour of Zeus, fire to the ships), Agamemnon (11.276–279) and Hector (11.286–290) after Agamemnon is injured, Hector (15.486–499) and Aias (15.502–513) after Zeus has sabotaged the bow of Teucer and thus prevented an assault on Hector (shared topic: perish or fight), Hector (15.718–725) and Aias (15.733–741) after the Trojans have reached the ships, Hector (17.220–232) and Menelaos (17.248–255) after the death of Patroclus (shared topic: the dead body of Patroclus), and, finally, Achilles (20.354–363) and Hector (20.366–372) after Aeneas has been saved by Poseidon. This list also shows the structure of power in the Greek camp: both the official leaders of the expedition (Agamemnon and Menelaos) and the two best fighters (Aias and Achilles) are put on a par with Hector, the only true champion and leader in the Trojan camp.

pair. Some have fruitfully been analysed as such in the past. The structural and thematic parallels between, for example, Achilles' and Hector's exhortations in book 20 (*Il.* 20.354–363 and 366–372) were given prominence by Dieter Lohmann (1970, 126–130) and had already been noticed by several Homeric scholars before him.[33]

However, their position in the narrative of the *Iliad*—uttered quasi-spontaneously in the heat of battle—and inconspicuous length—never more than 14 lines long—indicates the difference in structural importance. By juxtaposing speeches by the leaders of both sides, Homer quickly resumes the state of affairs on both sides without really interrupting the fighting. As Lohmann argued (1970, 129) we have to understand these parallel speeches as the account of two quasi-simultaneous reactions to the same events. Although certainly not unprecedented, Nonnus thus takes the structural use of parallel exhortations a few steps further than Homer. They are put into prominence by their length and fixed position before the start of each new important battle. They do not serve to resume the state of affairs but rather serve as an introduction to the entire battle and guide the narratee's expectations about it, thus becoming an essential first part of a much more formalized battle narrative.

These preliminary conclusions about the structural function of paired battle exhortations in Nonnus are, in fact, remarkably similar to what scholars studying the historiographical tradition have already observed in Thucydides. Of all twelve generals' exhortations in Thucydides that are rendered in direct speech, six are presented in opposing pairs and in this way introduce the narrative of a significant battle.[34] In the discussion as to whether or not Thucydides' speeches correspond to actual practices on the battlefield, the occurrence of close parallels between the pairs was one of the main arguments which have led scholars to believe that the exhortations found in Thucydides are heavily fictionalized.[35] Iglesias Zoido (2007, 146) describes the "inclusion of pairs of oppos-

33 Keitel (1987, 160) used the same example to claim an epic "antecedent" for "the paired speeches by opposing generals common in Thucydides and later historians" (see also below).

34 For a full list of the speeches in Thucydides, see Jebb 1907 (appendix). The paired generals' exhortations in Thucydides are found in paragraphs 2.87 & 2.89, 4.92 & 4.95 and 7.61–64 & 7.66–68.

35 This opinion has been forcefully defended by Mogens Herman Hansen (1993, 172): "In some such cases there is a remarkable correspondence between the two speeches, and the second commander almost responds to some of the points made by the first commander. But the two generals are enemies, and it is unbelievable that the two armies were drawn up so close to each other that one commander could hear the other's speech. The inter-

ing speeches" as symptomatic of the new functions which battle-exhortations have in the structure of Thucydides' work (see also under 2.1 above): they "look ahead", "set out the tactics", "show the character of the general" and already indicate "the real reasons behind a victory or a defeat".

The developments in the historiographical tradition (from Herodotus to Thucydides and others writing in the latter's style and tradition) can also be seen mirrored in the later epic tradition. It seems no coincidence that the closest epic parallel for Nonnus' use of paired battle exhortations can be found in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, for also in the *Pharsalia*'s use of speeches a strong influence of the rhetorical tradition can be felt. In Lucan, I have found 8 speeches of commanding officers to the assembled troops, with an average length of 44.5 lines, thus showing the same tendency towards long, elaborated exhortations.[36] The opposing generals Caesar and Pompey each exhort their troops twice with long and elaborate exhortations at significant moments within the structure of the epic poem.[37] In *Ph.* 1.299–351 (Caesar) and *Ph.* 2.531–595 (Pompey), the two generals for the first time exhort their troops. This position at the beginning of the epic poem, but divided over the first two books, allows the author to first give a full portrait of Caesar in book 1, with the battle exhortation (*Ph.* 1.299–351) as one of the culmination points, prefiguring future battle, and subsequently to move the focus towards Pompey in book 2, contrasting the enthusiasm of Caesar's troops after his exhortation with the lack of enthusiasm of the army after Pompey's speech (*Ph.* 2.531–595). The second pair of exhortations is found in book 7 (Caesar: *Ph.* 7.250–329 and Pompey: *Ph.* 7.342–382), before the decisive battle of Pharsalus in which Pompey's army is defeated.[38] Apart from the structural function of these paired exhortations in the narrative and their exceptional length, the exhortations

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dependence of two battle exhortations must be an imitation of the natural and inevitable interdependence of two successive symbouleutic or forensic speeches. In the case of battle exhortations, however, the correspondence must be artificial, and that, again, indicates that the genre includes a considerable element of fiction." Contra: Pritchett 1994, Pritchett 2002.

36 See also "Introduction" n. 58. The overall average speech length in Lucan is, according to Lipscomb (1909, 15), 21.5 lines. The 8 battle exhortations I am here referring to are *Ph.* 1.299–351 (Caesar), 1.359–386 (Laelius), 2.531–595 (Pompey), 4.476–520 (Volteius), 6.150–165 (Scaeva), 7.250–329 (Caesar), 7.342–382 (Pompey) and 9.256–283 (Cato).

37 See Tasler 1972, 29–40, 93–104, 46–67 and 109–119 and Heslop 1962, 2.11–14, 2.27–29 and 2.66–70 for a detailed rhetorical analysis of these speeches.

38 Similarly, the exhortations of protagonists Dionysus and Deriades in the *Dionysiaca* are considered to be an important part of their characterization. On the characterization of Deriades in the *Dionysiaca* through his speeches, see esp. Vian 2003, 120–124.

in both rhetorical epics are also much alike in their elaborate argumentation and use of rhetorical style elements. In both poems, the exhorting generals make use of apostrophes to the absent enemy (compare *D.* 27.40 with *Ph.* 1.331), ad hominem arguments of weakness (compare *D.* 27.73 with *Ph.* 1.311–313) and of the figure of procatalepsis or anticipatio (compare *D.* 27.49: ἀλλ' ἐρέεις· 'Κρονίωνος Ὀλύμπιον αἷμα κομίζω' with *Ph.* 2.559–560: licet ille solutum | defectumque vocet).[39] The similarities are striking, but much too general and too genuinely rhetorical to substantiate the possibility of a direct influence. Rather, the similarities point towards the rhetorical school tradition and more specifically to the rhetorical conceptualization of the battle exhortation—influenced in its turn by the by-then canonical speeches of Thucydides (Iglesias Zoido 2007 and 2012)—as a common influence in both.

2.2.1.3 A Few Exceptional Cases

To conclude this overview of the generals' exhortations, I draw attention to a few special cases in Nonnus. The first such exhortation in the *Dionysiaca* comes from the giant Typhon, usurper of the throne of Zeus. His speech (2.258–355) on the morning of the second day of battle exhorts not his troops but rather his body parts, as he is a monster with many heads (lions', bulls', snakes', etc …) and limbs, which all have different tasks during the battle. A bombastic exhortation by a monster, acting like a general who commands his limbs and heads in battle, naturally reads as a parody on the speech type of the battle exhortation and therefore also raises questions about Nonnus' awareness of tradition and the expectations raised by the conventions. This speech will be analysed in 2.4.1 below.

The speeches marked with an * in the list above are also of special interest in this respect. They have not been included in my total count of battle exhortations because they cannot be regarded as genuine instances. Three of these four are marked thus because the context in which they are inserted is different. In book 21 Lycurgus has been defeated by the Bacchante Ambrosia after her metamorphosis into a vine and is trapped in her branches. And yet, from this awkward position, he delivers a speech, presumably to his servants, although he appears to be alone throughout the episode. His monologue (21.135–146), however, has several of the characteristics of a commander's exhortation to his troops. Similarly, the speeches in books 44–45 by Pentheus, who orders his servants to capture and enslave Dionysus, can also be read as battle-less battle exhortations. There is no actual battle, but by his words, Pentheus is character-

39 On procatalepsis in Nonnus, see also under 3.2.3.

ized as a self-proclaimed, but unsuccessful general, grotesque in his unrealizable threats. These three speeches delivered by a spurious "general" and not in a battle situation will be analysed in 2.4.2.

The fourth example marked with an * is Dionysus' speech to Deriades in book 29 (304–310). Formally, this is not an exhortation, as in this speech Dionysus does not address his men at all, but only calls upon his enemy and challenges him.[40] The reason why the speech is mentioned in this overview is its effect, described in the capping formula, which is that of a successful exhortation (29.311–312: ὣς φαμένου βρυχηδὸν ἐμυκήσαντο μαχηταί: | ἄλλῳ δ' ἄλλος ἔριζε συναιχμάζων Διονύσῳ. "As he spoke, the warriors roared and gnashed their teeth: man vied with man in fighting by the side of Dionysos"). It is, moreover, not even clear whether Deriades is present on the battlefield at the moment this speech is uttered. After the opening lines of book 29 (1–9), he disappears from the spotlight. In the remainder of this book his presence is never explicitly stated, and also after this direct address to the Indian king, there is no reaction whatsoever from the Indian camp "puisque le roi des Indes est paradoxalement absent" (Vian 1990, 217).

2.2.2 *Exhortations by Gods (in Disguise)*

The second most frequently occurring subtype in Nonnus is the exhortation by a suddenly appearing god, most often addressing an army's commander. All nine examples of this type in Nonnus are listed below, as well as two exceptional cases, which are again marked with an *.

15.	Nike to Zeus	in the guise of Leto	2.209–236 (28)	night before battle
16.	Athena to Cadmus		4.393–405 (13)	in the heat of battle
17.	Hera to Astraeis	in the guise of Melaneus	14.309–314 (6)	morning before battle
18.	Eris and Phobus to Dionysus	in the guise of Rhea and Attis	20.44–98 (55)	night before battle (in a dream)
19.	**Iris to Lycurgus**	**in the guise of Ares**	**20.196–221 (26)**	**before battle (undef.)**
20.	Athena to Deriades	in the guise of Orontes	26.10–35 (26)	night before battle (in a dream)
21.	Athena to Dionysus		30.258–292 (35)	in the heat of battle

40 The enemy is also addressed in several of the exhortations in the list (17.170–191: Orontes to his troops, 39.33–73: Deriades to his troops, and 43.145–191: Poseidon to his troops), but this is always in combination with a clear apostrophe to the troops, hence the categorization as genuine exhortations.

22. Athena to Deriades	in the guise of Morrheus	40.11–30 (20)	A small interval between battles
23. Hera to Perseus	in the guise of Melampus	47.537–566 (47)	before battle (undef.)
***Iris to Dionysus**	**in the guise of Hermes**	**20.266–288 (23)**	**before battle (undef.)**
*Vision to Ares	on orders of Rhea	29.328–361 (34)	night before battle (in a dream)

As can be seen, most of these exhortations by gods are situated before the start of battle, as was also the case for the generals' exhortations.[41] The only exceptions are—and this does not seem a coincidence—three speeches by the goddess Athena (nos. 16, 21 and 22). Athena first briefly addresses Cadmus (no. 6, 4.393–405) during a moment of despair in his battle against the Ismenian dragon. This speech vaguely recalls her exhortation to Diomedes in *Iliad* 5 (826–834). In both cases she reassures her protégé, to whom she appears without disguise, that he need not fear Ares, since she herself is protecting him (D. 4.398–399 ~ *Il.* 5.827–828).

The second example, now addressing the frightened Dionysus after Hera has openly shown her support for the Indian cause (no. 21, 30.258–292), bears even stronger Iliadic resemblances. The passage introducing the speech is written in close imitation of *Il.* 1.194–201, in which Athena appears to Achilles to stop him from physically attacking Agamemnon. The similarities are striking: Athena arrives from the sky sent by Hera (*Il.*) or Zeus (D.) (D. 30.249b–250a = *Il.* 1.194b–195a), she stands behind the hero and pulls his hair (D. 30.253 ~ *Il.* 3.197), she appears to him alone (D. 30.254 ~ *Il.* 1.198) and flashes her eyes (D. 30.255 ~ *Il.* 1.200).[42]

Finally, Athena's speech to Deriades (no. 22), situated in the short interval between the naumachy (D. 39) and his final duel with Dionysus (D. 40.61–100), is conceived as the equivalent of her conversation with Hector in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 22.229–231 Athena, 233–237 Hector, 239–246 Athena). In the *Iliad*, she is disguised as Hector's brother Deiphobus and maliciously promises help in the final battle against Achilles. Her speech to Deriades in the guise of Morrheus

41 Because he is also the army's commander, I will not regard Dionysus as a god here.

42 See also Vian 1997, 18 n. 1: "L'imitation est si littérale que Nonnos oublie que Dionysos est seul dans la forêt et que μούνῳ φαινομένη n'est pas en situation." Cf. Agosti 2004, 368.

has the same narrative function: by blaming Deriades for his cowardice, she convinces him not to run away but to face Dionysus for a final duel, which he will lose.

The remaining six examples are situated on the night before battle or at an unspecified moment before battle when the god finds the army's commander alone. It is worth briefly comparing these contexts with the *Iliad*, in which I have found 26 examples of exhortations by gods to mortals (five by a god to the troops, 21 to individual warriors). The *Posthomerica* contains only one example (*Posth.* 5.137–141: Apollo to Aeneas and Eurymachus). The exhorting gods in the *Iliad* mostly intervene on the battlefield itself (15/26), or they approach the heroes during a short interval and encourage them to resume battle (9/26 ~ in Nonnus: Athena's speech to Deriades).[43] Only one speech, the famous dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon (*Il.* 2.23–34), is of the form so often used by Nonnus, in which the god visits the army's leader at night or in any case well before the start of battle. This same speech is textually alluded to several times throughout the *Dionysiaca*, as has been noted by Danièle Auger in her article on dreams in the *Dionysiaca*.[44] The clear textual parallels show convincingly that the Iliadic model must have been in Nonnus' mind when writing Eris' and Phobus' speech to Dionysus and Athena's speech to Deriades, and also in the case of Rhea's speech to Ares, which is marked with an * in my list.[45]

In the 6 examples in Nonnus in which the god appears to an army's commander before the start of battle, he or she always appears in the shape of a human or another god to disguise his or her true intentions or to give extra weight to the exhortation—as is also the case in the dream of Agamemnon. The gods in Nonnus, however, not only make use of a different appearance when appearing to humans—also a recurrent phenomenon in the *Iliad*—but also when appearing to fellow gods. Even Zeus is deceived by Nike, who exhorts him in the guise of Leto during the Typhonomachy (no. 15, 2.209–236).[46]

The two speeches marked with an * are not counted as battle exhortations, although they share quite a few characteristics with the speeches on this list.

43 The exact references can be extracted from the online database.

44 Auger 2003, 415 discerns three types of dreams: the deceptive, exhortative dream, modelled on the dream of Agamemnon in *Il.* 2, the dream-appearance of a dead beloved, and the symbolic, premonitory dream.

45 The opening words of the dream of Agamemnon εὕδεις Ἀτρέος υἱέ (*Il.* 2.23) are reflected in εὕδεις, Δηριάδη (*D.* 26.10), ὑπνώεις, Διόνυσε θεηγενές (*D.* 20.44) and Ἆρες, Ἄρες, σὺ μὲν εὗδε (*D.* 29.328).

46 See Auger 2003, 417. Under 4.2 this speech will be analysed in detail.

They can, I suggest, be interpreted as inverse exhortations.[47] Hélène Frangoulis (2011), in her article discussing the dream sent to Ares by Rhea (29.328–361), remarks that it is presented as the type of dream that we expect to exhort to war and precede a battle, but in this case does the opposite.[48] The dream exhorts Ares not to do battle, but instead to search for Aphrodite, who is supposedly leaving him for her former husband Hephaestus. This intervention, however, is a ruse to divert him from the battle against Rhea's own foster son Dionysus. Iris' speech to Dionysus is a similar case. The speech is clearly written to be the counterpart of her battle exhortation to Lycurgus and both have been marked in bold in my list to highlight that this is another case of two paired exhortations. Whereas Iris encourages Lycurgus to take up arms (20.196–221), she dissuades Dionysus from taking military action against Lycurgus (20.266–288) and maliciously advises him to approach Lycurgus peacefully and unarmed in order to convert him to the Bacchic cult.

These two "inverse exhortations" will be analysed in further detail in 2.4.3.

2.2.3 *Other Types of Battle Exhortations*

Only three battle exhortations in Nonnus do not belong to the two groups presented above.

24.	King Staphylus to Dionysus	18.217–305 (89)	long before battle
25.	**Dionysus to Hymenaeus**	**29.39–44 (6)**	**in the heat of battle**
26.	**Indian to Melaneus**	**29.52–67 (16)**	**in the heat of battle**

King Staphylus' speech to Dionysus (no. 24) is presented as a farewell speech, sending an honoured guest out to battle. In this capacity, it could be connected with the προπεμπτικὴ λαλιά, one of the types of epideictic rhetorical speeches described by Menander Rhetor (395–399),[49] but although the context of the

47 I use the term "inverse exhortations" by analogy with Francis Cairns' concept of genre inversions (2007^2, 127–137). He defines an inversion as follows (2007^2, 129–130): "Inversion takes place, when in an example of a genre, the normal function of the genre is replaced by a diametrically opposite function, while at the same time the generic identity of that example remains clear."

48 Frangoulis (2011, 101) "elle se trouve dans un cadre guerrier, s'intégrant dans un type de songe qui devrait en principe encourager et précéder une bataille, mais qui, à cause de l'insertion même de la *Moichéia*, se conclut sur l'exhortation opposée".

49 For the definition, see Men. Rhet. 395: Ἡ προπεμπτικὴ λαλιὰ λόγος ἐστὶ μετ' εὐφημίας τινὸς

speech is certainly that of taking leave (18.210–216: exchange of ξεινήια δῶρα and 306–311: parting of the ways), there is a total absence of any reference to a departure in the speech itself, which reads as a battle exhortation. Because King Staphylus is an honourable outsider speaking to a general, the speech can best be compared with the subcategory of exhortations by gods. Despite its length (89 lines), which is mostly due to the embedded narration of the Titanomachy (18.225–264), it contains only two exhortative topoi: Staphylus emphasizes the military glory of the ancestors and family of the addressee (18.265–272: Zeus, 273–288: Ares, 289: Apollo and 290–306: Perseus), which now must be equalled by Dionysus, and recalls the past victories of the addressee, which must lead to new ones (18.300).[50]

The exhortations of Dionysus to Hymenaeus and of the anonymous Indian to Melaneus, on the other hand (nos. 25 and 26), are conceived as each other's counterpart, although their tones are markedly different. This is the sixth and final pair of opposing exhortations in the *Dionysiaca* that I will be discussing here. Dionysus' speech to Hymenaeus is one of a general to a single hero under his command. Speeches by commanders that exhort individual members of their army are not so exceptional. I count twelve examples in the *Iliad* and two in the *Posthomerica*.[51] In Nonnus, this is the only example. It, however, is an exceptional example in another respect: Hymenaeus is Dionysus' lover and the exhortation also has an erotic character.

Immediately after Dionysus' exhortation to Hymenaeus, an anonymous Indian exhorts his fellow soldier Melaneus to shoot Dionysus with his arrows. This second speech is constructed in clear imitation of the famous episode in *Iliad* 4, where Athena exhorts Pandarus to shoot Menelaos and thus tricks him into shamefully breaking the truce between Greeks and Trojans (*Il.* 4.93–103). The contrast between the erotic flavour of Dionysus' speech to Hymenaeus and the Iliadic echoes in the speech of the Indian will be discussed in 2.4.4.

2.2.4 *Tradition and Innovation*

In this overview of the battle exhortations in the *Dionysiaca*, several characteristics distinguishing Nonnus from Homer and, to a lesser extent, Quintus have been revealed. The most conspicuous difference is probably the position of the exhortations in the battle narrative, before rather than during battle, which is the case both for the generals' exhortations and those by gods. This changed

προπέμπων τὸν ἀπαίροντα. "The propemptic speech is a speech in order to send someone who is departing away with good wishes" (my translation).

50 See also the discussion of exhortative topoi below in 2.3.

51 The exact references can be extracted from the online database.

position implies a change of function. Whereas exhortations in the heat of battle bring on new developments in battle, exhortations before battle serve to introduce the battle as a whole and help the audience to outline expectations about upcoming developments.[52]

It is also worth noting that the exceptional length of Nonnus' battle exhortations is, largely, limited to the generals' exhortations. The exhortations by gods are only slightly above average in length (with an average of 27 lines, compared to Nonnus' overall average of 25). The subcategory with the longest speeches is simultaneously the category in which the speakers are (in most cases) also the poem's protagonists. As will also become apparent in the detailed analysis of the speeches of Typhon (see 2.4.1 below), Lycurgus and Pentheus (see 2.4.2 below), an important function of these speeches is the characterization of the speaker. On the other hand—and this may also help to explain their exceptional length—the category of the generals' exhortations is also the only category for which Nonnus can fully draw on the rhetorical-historiographical tradition.[53]

A third point of interest is the relatively frequent occurrence in Nonnus of speeches written to resemble battle exhortations but inverted, or conceived as a parody or travesty of the speech type. These special cases will receive further analysis in subsection 2.4. In my opinion, their marked presence is a sign, not only that Nonnus is well aware of the conceptual "Typus" of a battle exhortation, defined by tradition, but also that he expects his audience to recognize and appreciate the divergences from and playful adaptations of this concept.

52 Compare also Miguélez Cavero's analysis of the battle exhortation in Triphiodorus 120–151 (2013c, 197): "Odysseus's speech does not have the form of the short harangues employed by heroes and gods in the middle of a battle to galvanise the army into immediate action in epic (e.g. *Il.* 5.464–469, 5.787–791, 6.67–91, 6.111–115), though it shares with these the insistence on warlike virtues. […] Odysseus' speech sums up in vague terms the strategy that the Achaeans are to follow in the last battle for Troy. It takes the place of a possible debate among the leaders and builds up the characterisation of both the Achaean army […] and Odysseus […]."

53 See Iglesias Zoido 2007 and 2012 on the interplay between the historiographical and the rhetorical tradition of the battle exhortation (esp. with respect to the speeches of Thucydides and their reception in school education).

2.3 Exhortative Topoi and Recurring Motifs in Nonnus

In order to present an overview of the exhortative topoi used in Nonnus and put these in the context of the epic and historiographical tradition, I will use the five τελικὰ κεφάλαια (just/δίκαιον, expedient/συμφέρον, noble/καλόν, feasible/δυνατόν and mindful of the potential consequences/ἐκβησόμενον) as a structural model and draw on the work of Josef Albertus (1908) and Elizabeth Keitel (1987).

2.3.1 *Δίκαιον*

In the first place, the theory of the τελικὰ κεφάλαια prescribes emphasizing that the case that is fought for is just. Both Albertus (1908, 58–59) and Keitel (1987, 154) strongly connect the element of justice with divine favour. Keitel compares in this respect Thucydides 4.92.7 (part of the exhortation of Pagondas to the Boeotians assuring them of the help of Apollo because their opponents have committed sacrilege) with *Il.* 4.234–239, (in which Agamemnon assures the Greeks of the help of Zeus, because the Trojans have broken their oath of armistice).

In the exhortations in the *Dionysiaca*, however, divine favour and support is connected to divine descent rather than to just/unjust and pious/impious behaviour. Dionysus in his exhortations uses the support of his father Zeus and other gods as an argument to increase the confidence of his troops (35.345–347 and 39.93–122). Deriades counters this in his speeches by denying Dionysus' divine descent (39.39–73) or by emphasizing his own divine lineage (27.51: Gaia as the mother of the Indian race, and 27.101: Deriades' grandfather Phaethon).

I have only found one example in the vein of Keitel's example from the *Iliad*. While exhorting his troops, Poseidon in 43.166 reproaches Dionysus that he, by declaring war on his former host Poseidon, has broken the rules of hospitality. Agamemnon's appeal to Zeus as the protector of oaths in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 4.235: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψευδέσσι πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἔσσετ' ἀρωγός), is, however, not paralleled by a reference to Zeus Ξένιος in Nonnus.

The aspect of justice, however, is certainly not absent from Nonnus' exhortations. Both Typhon and Deriades appeal to their birthright: Typhon, as Uranus' nephew, presents himself as a rightful conqueror of Olympus (2.334–336); Deriades claims he rightfully uses a lightning bolt as grandson of Phaethon (27.99–101). Both Dionysus and Gaia refer to the motive of revenge to justify and motivate their military actions (35.371–384 and 48.16) and using the same motive, Athena in the guise of the deceased Orontes gives Deriades (26.19) a new motivation to fight. Also remarkable is Dionysus' justification of his interest in Beirut

on the grounds that there is an abundance of vines in the area (43.123). He not only fights for the hand of the Nymph Beroe but also appoints himself protector of the city (43.118–132) and the bringer of justice (43.126: δικασπόλος). These actions are in line with Dionysus' overall portrayal as the "champion of justice" (48.98: Δίκης πρόμος) whose most important task it is to defeat the Indians "untaught of justice" (13.3: δίκης ἀδίδακτον), but who also considers it his duty to punish other wrongdoers like Sithon (48.90–237) and the Tyrrhenian pirates (45.105–168).[54]

2.3.2 *Συμφέρον/ἐκβησόμενον*

A second important argument that can be used in an exhortation is that of the consequences of victory (συμφέρον) or defeat (ἐκβησόμενον). Albertus lists several recurring topoi (1908, 61–65). Often, the speaker emphasizes, very generally, that the battle will be decisive and will have important consequences: life or death, freedom or slavery (ex. Thuc. 2.89.10). A good example in Nonnus is *D.* 36.140–141, in which Deriades warns that Dionysus will have to be captured that same day or the Bacchic army will wipe out the Indian race (Σήμερον ἢ Διόνυσον ἐγὼ πλοκαμῖδος ἐρύσσω, | ἠὲ μόθος Βακχεῖος ἀιστώσει γένος Ἰνδῶν).

Albertus' second topos under this heading, namely that victory is necessary to protect one's own house, wife and children (1908, 65–67 "Das Kämpfen 'pro aris atque focis'", ex. Polybius 3.109.7) is provided with a Homeric parallel by Keitel, who cites the speech of Hector in *Il.* 15.494–499. A parallel in the *Dionysiaca* could be found in the exhortation of Nike in the guise of Leto to Zeus, emphasizing that he has to fight Typhon to protect his daughters (2.209: σῶν τεκέων πρόμος ἵστασο).

It is, however, the third topos listed by Albertus that is used most frequently in Nonnus: the promise of *spolia* and, more broadly, also the treatment of the defeated enemy after the war. Albertus cites among others Polybius 3.111.9 regarding the promise of wealth and land ownership and Keitel offers two examples of material rewards promised to the soldiers in Homer (*Il.* 8.286–291 and 17.220–232). In Nonnus, this topos is given much more prominence. The focus hereby no longer lies primarily on wealth but rather on the enslavement of the prisoners of war, who become the victor's household staff (27.32–33, 36.152–156, 43.102–108 and 43.155), are forced into marriage (2.304, 312 and 317, 17.190–191 and 48.19–22) or to sing or carry torches at these wedding ceremonies

54 Vian (2003, 11) concludes: "D'une manière générale, le thème de la Justice occupe une place importante dans les *Dionysiaques*, alors qu'il demeure secondaire dans la *Paraphrase*". See also Vian 1994b, 214–233 and Shorrock 2011, 89 and 100–105 on the question of the soteriological dimension of the *Dionysiaca*.

(2.320–333, 43.139–142 and 48.19–22), are turned into Indians or Bacchants (15.121–131, 27.34–39 and 35.353–366) or are simply killed in the most miserable fashion imaginable (27.216–220: heads on stakes in a triumph, and 43.150–171: drowned to death).[55]

This long (but not exhaustive) list of examples clearly demonstrates that the focus in Nonnus' exhortations lies on the consequences for the enemy in the case of a victory, rather than on the risks of defeat. This emphasis is especially true for the exhortations by the enemies of Zeus and Dionysus, who are in this way consistently characterized as overconfident leaders whose eventual defeat is the deserved punishment for their hubris. In most of the examples cited, the description of the consequences for the defeated enemy, both during and after war, is presented as a quite elaborate catalogue, in which individual warriors and segments of the troops are treated separately. This stylistic feature may, in fact, be part of the explanation for Nonnus' apparent fondness for this topos. The topic lends itself very well to a description in the form of a catalogue, which in Nonnus' poetry is a very important technique of composition.[56]

2.3.3 *Καλόν*

A third important topic in battle exhortations is the appeal to the honour of the soldiers, who are incited to show courage and suppress fear whilst facing the enemy and in this way to act in line with their own reputation and as worthy representatives of their land and family. For this topos, Elizabeth Keitel (1987, 159) cites examples from Herodotus (7.53.1: Xerxes asks his generals not to disgrace their countrymen) and Thucydides (2.11.2: Archidamas exhorts the Spartans to be worthy of their fathers and keep up their own reputation) as well as a few well-known examples from Homer (*Il.* 4.376–400: Agamemnon reminds Diomedes of the courage of his father Tydeus, and *Il.* 16.556: Patroclus urges the Aiantes to fight as courageously and valiantly as they did previously).

In comparison to the prominence of the topos of honour (κλέος) and its counterpart shame (αἰδώς) in the battle exhortations of the *Iliad* (see also Fingerle 1939, 91), the *Dionysiaca*'s battle exhortations pay relatively little attention to it. Only a few examples can be listed of rebukes for cowardice, mostly by the Indian generals rebuking their soldiers for their unnecessary fear of an army

55 Compare also 20.222–250. Lycurgus' response after being exhorted by Iris/Ares is not an exhortation but develops the same topos.

56 See Frangoulis 1999, 11: "son gout pour l'énumération". A first more detailed study of the catalogues in Nonnus will be published in the proceedings of the second Nonnus in Context conference (Miguélez Cavero 2017 forthcoming).

consisting of women (14.309: Ἡδὺς ὁ δειμαίνων ἀπαλὴν στίχα θηλυτεράων) and led by an unwarlike leader (17.171: ἄρεα μὴ τρομέοιτε φυγοπτολέμου Διονύσου).

References to national honour are even rarer in the *Dionysiaca*. Lycurgus calls for help with a reference to the "valour of the Arabian people" (21.138: ἠνορέης Ἀράβων σημήιον), Deriades claims that victory against Dionysus will give the Indians the reputation of being invincible (35.157–160)[57] and Gaia thinks in terms of family honour when she imagines how her sons will be praised for having defeated both Zagreus and Dionysus (48.26–30).[58] It is remarkable that in two of these three cases, the rhetorical device of the potential τις-speech (or a derivate)[59] is used to express hopes of future glory. The same device is also used in 29.42–44,[60] where Dionysus exhorts Hymenaeus by predicting for him personal glory if he shoots Deriades. A good parallel in Homer of a similar use of potential τις-speech in the context of an exhortation is in *Il.* 12.317–321, where Sarpedon exhorts Glaucus with the promise of praise from the other Lycians for their worthy leadership.[61] The use of potential τις-speech as a stylistic device in the *Dionysiaca* will be analysed in detail under 3.1.

57 36.157–160: καὶ Ἰνδῴην μετὰ χάρμην | νίκην κυδιάνειραν ἀείσατε Δηριαδῆος, | ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγῃσι καὶ ὀψιγόνων στρατὸς ἀνδρῶν | Ἰνδοῖς Γηγενέεσσιν ἀνικήτοισιν ἐρίζειν. "After the Indian battle you may sing the glorious victory of Deriades, that even in many generations to come people may shiver to face the unconquerable Indians born of the Earth!"

58 48.26–30: ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ |ἢ θεὸς ἢ μερόπων τις, ὅτι Κρονίδαο γενέθλῃ | Γαῖα χολωομένη διδύμους θώρηξε φονῆας, | πρεσβυτέρους Τιτῆνας ἐπὶ προτέρῳ Διονύσῳ, | ὁπλοτέρους δὲ Γίγαντας ἐπ' ὀψιγόνῳ Διονύσῳ. "That one may say, god or mortal, that Earth in her anger has twice armed her slayers against the breed of Cronides—the older Titans against the former Dionysos, the younger Giants against Dionysos later born."

59 The example from book 36 cannot be regarded as a real potential τις-speech, because it does not predict what someone (τις) will say about the Indians, but how someone (τις) will feel about them. It is, however, very similar in effect to a potential τις-speech (note also the introduction with ὄφρα τις).

60 29.42–44: ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·| 'Ἀμφοτέρων ἐτύχησε βαλὼν Ὑμέναιος ὀιστῷ, | εἰς χρόα Δηριάδαο καὶ ἐς κραδίην Διονύσου'. "That men may say, 'Hymenaios hit two marks with one arrow, the body of Deriades and the heart of Dionysos!'"

61 *Il.* 12.317–321: ὄφρά τις ὧδ' εἴπῃ Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων· | οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν | ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα | οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἲς | ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται. "So that many a one of the mail-clad Lycians may say: 'Surely no inglorious men are these who rule in Lycia, our kings, and they eat fat sheep and drink choice wine, honey-sweet: but their might too is noble, since they fight among the foremost Lycians.'"

2.3.4 *Δυνατόν*

The final important argument that can be expected in an exhortation deals with the feasibility of victory. Albertus (1908, 68–86) divides arguments of this type into three groups: arguments concerning the personal prowess of the general, those concerning the prowess of the soldiers and those pointing out the advantages arising from the specific battle situation and the available equipment.

"The general can praise himself, his strategy and tactics and his relations with his men, and he can also belittle the opposing commander" (Keitel 1987, 157). Keitel, for this topos, has to admit that the Homeric leaders do not generally emphasize their own role in their exhortations in the same way that the generals in the historiographical tradition do (see Albertus 1908, 69–75). The only example she gives is of Hector's confident exhortation in *Iliad* 13.150–151 (151: οὔ τοι δηρὸν ἐμὲ σχήσουσιν Ἀχαιοί). For an extra example, recall Hector's claim in *Il.* 20.371 (τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι) that he himself will take a position against Achilles, the πρόμος of the opposing party.[62]

The exhorting commanders in Nonnus, however, are much less modest. Morrheus, for example, starts his exhortation to the Indian assembly with a long account of his own previous accomplishments in battle (36.430–443) and Dionysus claims that he will rival the battle accomplishments of his father Zeus against the Titans (35.350–352) and calls himself unconquerable (15.121: ἀνικήτου Διονύσου). Perhaps reminiscent of Hector's claim to personally fight Achilles are the many occurrences in the *Dionysiaca*'s generals' exhortations of the claim that the enemy's commander will be killed or captured by the speaker himself (for example in 17.178–179, 27.126, 36.143 and 36.466–469).

The topos of denigrating the enemy's commander, for which Keitel (1987, 157) cites Hannibal's exhortation in Livy in which he comments on Scipio's weaknesses (21.43.15), is also present in Nonnus' exhortations. In the exhortations by his enemies, Dionysus is repeatedly called effeminate (for example in 14.309, 17.184 and 27.73) and a coward (in 17.171, 17.178 and 43.146).[63]

Arguments of feasibility with respect to the soldiers' prowess are most often references to earlier victories. Keitel (1987, 158) again uses Livy as an example

62 Also in *Il.* 8.532, Hector in his exhortation promises to slay one of the captains of the Greek army, in this case Diomedes.

63 See also Miguélez Cavero 2010, 32–33 for an overview of the arguments Dionysus' enemies use to belittle him. She connects the exhortations of his opponents with the rhetorical practice of the invective and interprets them as the necessary counterpart to the overall encomiastic structure of the poem.

(21.41.6: Scipio reminds his soldiers of how the Carthaginians were previously defeated by the Romans) and compares it with *Il.* 13.99–110, where Poseidon exhorts the Greeks by reminding them of how the Trojans used to flee in fear for them. The exhortations in the *Dionysiaca* also contain references to earlier victories (in 27.22, 35.344 and 43.133–138) and to the inborn battle skills of the soldiers (39.78–79).

There is, however, a second, much more frequently occurring topos in the *Dionysiaca*'s exhortations that can be mentioned in this respect. Several exhortations contain catalogues of individual enemies or segments of the enemy troops and how and by whom they will be defeated. The most elaborate example can be found in the first exhortation by Deriades (27.75–135), but also the parallel speech by Dionysus contains a similar catalogue (27.176–207), and in the exhortation by Dionysus before his battle with Poseidon, individual members of both armies are played out against each other in duels (43.74–75: Maron-Glaucon, 110–114: Pan-Poseidon). The same topos occurs in Typhon's exhortation to his heads and arms (2.258–272 and 281–290, see also 2.4.1 below). Again, the tendency of Nonnus to present his material in the form of catalogues can be part of the explanation why the enumeration of opponents becomes a regular component in the *Dionysiaca*'s exhortations. Although I have not found any examples of this specific topos in the exhortations in the epic or historiographical tradition, it has its logical place in an exhortation because it is also a way of instructing the troops regarding military strategy, which in the historiographical tradition after Thucydides became an increasingly important element of a general's exhortation.[64]

Albertus' third group of arguments in this category, based on situational advantages and equipment, has not been treated by Keitel, probably because of the lack of convincing parallels in Homer. As demonstrated by Albertus (1908, 81–82), the opposing exhortations by Nicias and Gylippus in Thucydides (7.62 and 7.67) show clear parallels of argumentation. Each explains the advantage possessed by his own troops in the upcoming naumachy. This pair of exhortations provides a striking parallel for the argumentation in Dionysus' and Morrheus' speeches in preparation of the naumachy of book 39. Both parties very similarly offer a comparison of the strengths and weaknesses of both armies on water (36.446–466 and 39.90–92).

The argument of the superiority of the weaponry, on the other hand (cf. Albertus 1908, 85), is a genuine topos in the *Dionysiaca*, because of the untradi-

64 See Iglesias Zoido 2008, 28–34, esp. 28: "La parte explicativa de la arenga consiste en exponer la situación táctica de la batalla y en destacar los motivos favorables de ánimo."

tional armoury of the Bacchic troops (a few examples: 2.291–295, 14.314, 17.180–184, 20.200–202, 27.167–172 and 43.172–178).

2.3.5 *Particularities of the "Nonnian" Exhortation*

In this overview of frequently used topoi, a few tendencies stand out that distinguish the *Dionysiaca's* exhortations from its epic predecessors on the one hand and from the historiographical tradition on the other. Some of the preferred topoi of Nonnus' generals can be connected with the stylistic qualities of his poetry, as I have pointed out in connection with his enumerations of opponents (who is fighting whom) and of the consequences of war (how each segment of the enemy troops will be treated after defeat). The marked presence of these topoi can, indeed, be connected with the omnipresent stylistic device of the catalogue in Nonnus' poetry. The occurrence of catalogues in Nonnus' exhortations, moreover, helps to explain their exceptional length.

These catalogues are, however, not merely a stylistic device that allows Nonnus to expand on certain topoi. They often have a specific function in the narrative as well. The occurrence of a catalogue of Dionysus' troops in Deriades' exhortation of 27.22–135, for example, could be interpreted as a necessary reminder to the audience of the major Bacchic players on the battlefield.[65] It follows the catalogue of the Indian troops in book 26 and brings to mind the earlier catalogues of the Bacchic troops of books 13 and 14. They are briefly summarized by Deriades, but without too much repetition and, by fitting the summary into an exhortation, in a creative manner.

Other recurring topoi are closely related to the subject matter of the *Dionysiaca*. This is for example the case with the topos of the untraditional weaponry and the topos of the protagonists' divine descent.

A more significant difference between Nonnus and the earlier epic and historiographical traditions lies in the changed role of the generals in their exhortations. Their own actions are more to the fore, their divine descent is decisive and, after victory, they will have their personal revenge. Often, imperatives directed to the troops appear only in the first part of the speech, after which the perspective of the speaker becomes dominant, with repeated use of first person singular verbs and first person possessive pronouns.[66] This is in sharp contrast to the exhortations in Homer, Quintus, Triphiodorus or

65 See also Miguélez Cavero 2017 forthcoming on the different functions of the catalogue in Nonnus.

66 Examples of generals' exhortations in which the speaker's first person perspective is dominant: 17.170–191 (Orontes), 27.22–135 (Deriades), 27.167–220 (Dionysus), 35.344–391 (Dionysus), 39.78–122 (Dionysus), 43.70–142 (Dionysus) and 43.147–191 (Poseidon).

the historiographers, in which the speaker exhorts the soldiers primarily with arguments based on their perspective.

Related to this changed role of the general is also the shift that can be observed regarding the moral implications of the exhortations. Whereas in both the epic and the historiographical tradition military honour and its counterpart shame have always played an important role, in Nonnus, this important topos seems to have lost its prominent position.[67] In Nonnus' exhortations it has given way to hubristic claims of supremacy, overconfident catalogues of what to do after victory and derision of the enemy. By these means, the enemies of Zeus and Dionysus are characterized in an especially negative way, a feature which could be connected to the fact that the Nonnian narrator is no longer an impartial observer (cf. the Homeric narrator and the historiographer) but rather a fervent supporter of the Bacchic troops.[68] Is the Homeric "heroic code", still so important in Quintus, totally absent from Nonnus' epic?[69] The near total absence of the theme of military honour raises questions regarding the ideology presented in the poem. One might be inclined to see it as a mock-epic feature, or to connect it—once more—to the partiality of the narration: why bother about honour in a battle between "good" and "bad"?

2.4 Selected Examples: Untraditional Exhortations in Nonnus

In this final section of this chapter, the framework and general tendencies outlined in the previous paragraphs will be used to analyse the notable cases already briefly presented in the course of section 2.2.

2.4.1 *Typhon's Army of Monsters*

Mock-epic elements seem to be an important factor in the first example that I have singled out for detailed analysis. It is the lengthy speech of "general" Typhon to his "troops", which consist of his heads and limbs (2.258–355). With

67 See Fingerle 1939, 91–103 for the omnipresent topos of αἰδώς in Homer's exhortations and Iglesias Zoido 2008, 36 for the importance of the argument of military honour in Thucydides.

68 On the partiality of the Nonnian narrator, see "Introduction" (p. 5 and n. 23). Cf. also Miguélez Cavero 2010, 25: "Just as contemporary panegyrists did, Nonnus is keen on emphasizing the opposition between his main character and his adversaries by systematically debasing and ridiculing them."

69 For the ideal of the Homeric hero in Quintus, I rely on Scheijnen 2016.

this battle exhortation, Nonnus further elaborates on a metaphor which is developed the moment Typhon is introduced. The giant first appears in 1.154 to steal the weapons of Zeus and as he does so he utters a war cry from his "rank of throats" (1.156: στίχα λαιμῶν and 157: ἀλάλαζεν). He launches his attack with a "phalanx of hands" (1.165: εὐπαλάμῳ δὲ φάλαγγι), an "army of snakes" (1.187: ὀφίων σκολιὸν στρατόν) and later on an entire "phalanx of monsters" (1.274: πᾶσα δὲ κητώεσσα φάλαγξ). Thus his body is metaphorically transformed into a full-fledged army.

In 2.244, when Typhon wakes up at sunrise on the second day of battle, the thread is resumed with the same set of metaphors. Again a battle cry resounds (2.250: στίχα φωνῆς ~ 1.156: στίχα λαιμῶν), the body parts are armed (2.252: τοῦ δὲ κορυσσομένοιο φυῆς πολυειδέι μορφῇ) and before the battle starts, the central, anthropomorphic head of Typhon (2.256: μεσάτῃ δὲ Γίγας βροτοειδέι μορφῇ) rouses the other parts with a long battle exhortation. In the lines introducing the earlier first speech by Typhon (1.486–506), it is mentioned that the speech is pronounced by the human face in the middle, which for this second speech assumes the position of the general.

The long speech which follows (at 98 lines, it is one of the longest in the *Dionysiaca*)[70] is unmistakably a battle exhortation. It contains most of the elements that could be expected in a general's exhortation to his troops, including a number of recurring topoi.

2.4.1.1 Apostrophes to the Troops and Their Allotted Tasks

Χεῖρες ἐμαί, Διὸς οἶκον ἀράξατε, πυθμένα κόσμου
σείσατε σὺν μακάρεσσι, καὶ αὐτοέλικτον Ὀλύμπου
κόψατε θεῖον ὀχῆα, καὶ αἰθερίης ἐπὶ γαίῃ
κίονος ἑλκομένης φυγέτω δεδονημένος Ἄτλας,
ἄντυγα δ' ἀστερόφοιτον ἀπορρίψειεν Ὀλύμπου,
μηκέτι δειμαίνων ἕλικα δρόμον (οὐ γὰρ ἐάσσω
ὤμοις θλιβομένοις κυρτούμενον υἱὸν Ἀρούρης
αἰθέρος ὀχλίζοντα παλινδίνητον ἀνάγκην,
ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἑτέροισιν ἀτέρμονα φόρτον ἐάσσας
μαρνάσθω μακάρεσσιν, ἀναρρήξειε δὲ πέτρας
τρηχαλέοις βελέεσσιν ὀιστεύων πόλον ἄστρων,
ὃν πάρος ἠέρταζεν, ἱμασσόμεναι δὲ κολῶναις
ταρβαλέαι φυγέτωσαν ἀνάλκιδες οὐρανὸν Ὧραι,

70 Only 8 speeches are longer. This is the second longest exhortation (see also n. 23).

δμωίδες Ἠελίοιο)· περιπλέγδην δὲ λαβοῦσαι
ἠέρι μίξατε γαῖαν, ὕδωρ πυρί, πόντον Ὀλύμπῳ.
[...]
Ταῦροι ἐμοί, δονέοντες ἰσήμερον ἄντυγα κύκλου
αἰθέρι μυκήσασθε, χαρασσομέναις δὲ κεραίαις
ἰσοτύπου φλογεροῖο κεράατα ῥήξατε Ταύρου·
καὶ βόες ὑγρὰ κέλευθα μετοχλίσσωσι Σελήνης
δειδιότες βαρύδουπον ἐμῶν μύκημα καρήνων.
Καὶ βλοσυρῶν μέγα χάσμα διαπτύξασα γενείων
ἄρκτος ἀνοιστρήσειε Τυφαονὶς Ἄρκτον Ὀλύμπου·
αἰθερίῳ δὲ Λέοντι λέων ἐμὸς ἀντιφερίζων
ζῳδιακῆς ἀέκοντα μεταστήσειε κελεύθου·
ἡμετέρους δὲ δράκοντας Ὄφις φρίξειεν Ἁμάξης.

Smash the house of Zeus, O my hands! Shake the foundation of the universe, and the blessed ones with it! Break the bar of Olympos, self-turning, divine! Drag down to earth the heavenly pillar, let Atlas be shaken and flee away, let him throw down the starry vault of Olympos and fear no more its circling course (for I will not permit a son of Earth to be bowed down with chafed shoulders, while he under-props the revolving compulsion of the sky! No, let him leave his endless burden to the other gods, and battle against the Blessed Ones! Let him break off rocks, and volley with those hard shots the starry vault which he once carried! Let the timid Seasons, the Sun's handmaids, flee the heavens under the shower of mountains!) Mix earth with sky, water with fire, sea with Olympos, in a litter of confusion!

[...]

Bellow, my bulls, shake the circle of the equator in the sky, break with your notched horns the horns of the fiery Bull, your own likeness! Let Selene's cattle leave their watery road, fearing the heavybooming bellow of my heads! Let Typhaon's bear open wide his grim gaping jaws, and worry the Bear of Olympos! Let my lion face the heavenly Lion, and drive him reluctant from the path of the Zodiac!

Typhon's speech opens with an apostrophe to his hands (258: Χεῖρες ἐμαί), followed by a number of imperatives (258: ἀράξατε, 259: σείσατε and 260: κόψατε) ordering them to overthrow the divine order and create chaos on earth. The sequence ends in a climactic tricolon in 2.272, an invitation to disturb the cosmic order of the four elements of fire, earth, water and air (ἠέρι μίξατε γαῖαν, ὕδωρ πυρί, πόντον Ὀλύμπῳ). From 261 to 271 this sequence is interrupted to elab-

orate on the consequences: Atlas will be free (and makes a logical ally), the Horae (part of the establishment that is overthrown) will flee in despair.

In line 281 Ταῦροι ἐμοί, echoing the initial Χεῖρες ἐμαί of 258, introduces a new sequence of orders to Typhon's troops. Imperatives (282: μυκήσασθε and 283: ῥήξατε) are now combined with optatives (287: ἀνοιστρήσειε, 289: μεταστήσειε and 290: φρίξειεν). Each of Typhon's animal parts is exhorted to confront an enemy in the sky of the same species: his bulls against the Bull constellation and the cows of Semele, his bear against the Bear, his lion against the Lion, his snake against the Snake. Typhon's matching of opponents is a good example of this recurring topos in Nonnus' battle exhortations (see 2.3.4: Δυνατόν).

Together, these two parts are the most purely exhortative parts of the speech, because the troops are immediately addressed. The rest of the speech is spoken with a first person perspective (the perspective of the general), without reference to the troops, but nevertheless contains a number of other exhortative topoi.

2.4.1.2 The Glorious Deeds of the General

In the first half of the speech there is an alternation between apostrophes to the troops and passages in which Typhon in the first person brags about the glorious deeds he will perform in the upcoming battle. In 273–275, the transition is marked with a series of first person (future or present) indicatives (273: τελέσω, 274: μαστίζω, κλονέω and ἱμάσσω, and 275: κεράσσω). The prominence of the general's own actions is another characterizing element of Nonnus' battle exhortations.

> Καὶ πισύρων ἀνέμων τελέσω δούλειον ἀνάγκην·
> μαστίζω Βορέην, κλονέω Νότον, Εὖρον ἱμάσσω,
> καὶ Ζέφυρον πλήξαιμι, καὶ ἤματι νύκτα κεράσσω
> χειρὶ μιῇ· Καὶ γνωτὸς ἐμὸς πολυπίδακι λαιμῷ
> Ὠκεανὸς πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἄγων ὑψούμενον ὕδωρ,
> πέντε παραλλήλων πεφορημένος ὑψόθι κύκλων,
> ἄστρα κατακλύζειε, καὶ ὕδατι διψὰς ἀλάσθω
> Ἄρκτος Ἀμαξαίοιο δεδυκότος ἱστοβοῆος.

I will compel the four winds also to labour as my slaves; I lash the North Wind, I buffet the South, I flog the East; I will thrash the West, with one hand I will mix night with day; Oceanos my brother shall bring his water to Olympos aloft with many-fountained throat, and rising above the five parallel circles he shall inundate the stars; then let the thirsty Bear go wandering in the water with the Waggon's pole submerged!

Remarkable, however, is that even when speaking in the first person Typhon chooses to specify which body part will perform which action. He will defeat the winds with only one hand (276: χειρὶ μιῇ). Even when he talks about the action presumably undertaken by his ally Oceanus, he specifies that Oceanus attacks the heavens by spitting out water through his many-fountained throat (276: πολυπίδακι λαιμῷ).

ἀστεροπαῖς ὀλίγαις κεκορυθμένος· ἀλλὰ θαλάσσης
κύματα λυσσήεντα, λόφοι χθονός, ἄγκεα νήσων
φάσγανά μοι γεγάασι, καὶ ἀσπίδες εἰσὶ κολῶναι,
καὶ σκόπελοι θώρηκες ἀαγέες, ἔγχεα πέτραι,
καὶ ποταμοὶ σβεστῆρες ἀκιδνοτάτοιο κεραυνοῦ.

(Little do I care for Zeus,) with only a few lightnings to arm him! Ah, but my swords are the maddened waves of the sea, the tors of the land, the island glens; my shields are the hills, the cliffs are my breastplates unbreakable, my halberds are the rocks, and the rivers which will quench the contemptible thunderbolt.

The second passage (291–295) pronounced in the first person unfortunately starts with a lacuna. Typhon here lists the type of weapons he uses—again in the form of a short catalogue—and which more traditional weapons they are replacing. Typhon's speech thus introduces the theme of untraditional weaponry in the poem long before the strange Bacchic weaponry makes its first appearance.[71] The theme of the weaponry is repeated in 342–344, when Typhon expresses his need for more lightning bolts, because he has many more hands than Zeus.

ἄλλα δὲ τεύξω
ὅπλα πυρός· πολέων γὰρ ἐμοὶ χρέος ἐστὶ κεραυνῶν,
ὅττι διηκοσίῃσι, καὶ οὐ διδύμαις πολεμίζω
χερσὶν ἐγὼ Κρονίδῃ πανομοίιος·ἀντιτύπους δέ
κρέσσονας ὀψιγόνους πολυφεγγέι μείζονι πυρσῷ
ἀστεροπὰς ἑτέρας χαλκεύσομαι.

71 The untraditional weaponry of Dionysus is criticized for the first time by Hera in her exhortation to Astraeis (*D.* 14.310). See also 2.3.4.

> I will make more weapons of fire; for I need many thunderbolts, because I have two hundred hands to fight with, not only a pair like Cronides. I will forge a newer and better brand of lightning, with more fire and flashes.

2.4.1.3 Revenge and Other Prospects after Victory

The largest part of the speech (296 to 333), however, is a catalogue of Olympian gods and goddesses that will be captured, punished, enslaved or given in marriage after Typhon's victory (cf. 2.3.2: Συμφέρον). This section ends with a vivid description of Typhon's own marriage to Hera. In several cases the punishment is also an act of revenge for the earlier treatment of other sons of Gaia (*marked in italic*) by the Olympian gods (***bold italic***). The catalogue, therefore, abounds in mythological references. The recurring topos of the punishment and enslavement of the enemy after victory is here lengthily elaborated upon, combining erudition with humorous absurdities.

Δεσμοὺς δ᾽ *Ἰαπετοῖο* ***Ποσειδάωνι*** φυλάσσω.
Ἀμφὶ δὲ Καύκασον ἄκρον ἐύπτερος ἄλλος ἀρείων
αἰετὸς αἱμάξειε παλιμφυὲς ἧπαρ ἀμύσσων
Ἡφαίστου πυρόεντος, ἐπεὶ πυρὸς εἵνεκα κάμνει
ἥπατος αὐτοφύτοιο χαρασσομένοιο *Προμηθεύς*·
Υἱάσι δ᾽ ἀντικέλευθον ἔχων τύπον *Ἰφιμεδείης*
κρύψω ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι περίπλοκον ***υἱέα Μαίης***
χαλκέῳ ἐν κεράμῳ πεφυλαγμένον, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
'λύσας δεσμὸν Ἄρηος ἐκεύθετο δέσμιος Ἑρμῆς.'
Λυσαμένη δ᾽ ἄψαυστον ἑῆς σφρηγῖδα κορείης
Ἄρτεμις *Ὠρίωνος* ἀναγκαίη δάμαρ ἔστω·
καὶ *Τιτυῷ* πελάσειε παλαίτερα φάρεα ***Λητώ***,
εἰς γάμον ἑλκομένη βεβιημένον. Ἀνδροφόνον δέ
ῥωγαλέων σακέων γυμνούμενον ***Ἄρεα*** δήσας
κοίρανον ὑσμίνης ληίσσομαι, ἀντὶ φονῆος
μείλιχον, ὀψιγάμῳ δὲ συναπτομένην *Ἐφιάλτῃ*
Παλλάδα ληιδίην νυμφεύσομαι, ὄφρα νοήσω
Ἄρεα θητεύοντα καὶ ὠδίνουσαν Ἀθήνην.
Καὶ μογεροῖς ὤμοισι παλινδίνητον ἀείρων
οὐρανὸν *Ἀτλάντειον* ἐλαφρίζειε ***Κρονίων***
ὄρθιος, ἡμετέρων δὲ γάμων ὑμέναιον ἀκούσῃ
ζῆλον ὑποκλέπτων, ὅτε νυμφίος ἔσσομαι ***Ἥρης***.—
Οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ δαΐδων ἐπιδεύομαι· αὐτόματος γάρ
δαλὸς ἐμῶν θαλάμων στεροπῆς σέλας, ἀντὶ δὲ πεύκης

αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ ***Φαέθων*** ἰδίης φλογὸς ἁψάμενος πῦρ
νυμφιδίην τανύσειε Τυφωέι δούλιον αἴγλην·
καὶ γαμίους σπινθῆρας ἐπαιθύσσοντες Ὀλύμπῳ
ἀστέρες ἀστράψειαν ἐμῶν λαμπτῆρες ***ἐρώτων***,
ἀστέρες ἕσπερα λύχνα· σὺν εὐθαλάμῳ δ’ ***Ἀφροδίτῃ***
εὐνέτις Ἐνδυμίωνος ἐμὴ θεράπαινα ***Σελήνη***
δέμνιά μοι στορέσειε· καὶ εἰ χρέος ἐστὶ λοετρῶν,
λούσομαι ἀστερόεντος ἐν ὕδασιν Ἠριδανοῖο.
Ἀλλὰ Διὸς μετὰ λέκτρα Τυφωέι, κυκλάδες ***Ὧραι***,
πήξατε παστὸν Ἔρωτος· ἀπ’ Ὠκεανοῦ δὲ καὶ αὐταί,
Λητώ, Ἀθηναίη, Παφίη, Χάρις, Ἄρτεμις, Ἥβη,
νυμφοκόμῳ Τυφῶνι κομίσσατε σύγγονον ὕδωρ.
Καὶ γαμίοις πλήκτροισιν ἐμῆς παρὰ δαῖτα τραπέζης
ἀντὶ Διὸς μέλψειε Τυφωέα λάτρις ***Ἀπόλλων***.

I will keep the chains of Iapetos for Poseidon; and soaring round Caucasos, another and better eagle shall tear the bleeding liver, growing for ever anew, of Hephaistos the fiery: since fire was that for which Prometheus has been suffering the ravages of his self-growing liver. I will take a shape the counterpart of the sons of Iphimedeia, and I will shut up the intriguing son of Maia in a brazen jar, ‘Hermes freed Ares from prison, and he was put in prison himself!’ Let Artemis break the untouched seal of her maidenhood, and become the enforced consort of Orion; Leto will approach Tityos with the same veil as before, dragged to wedlock by force. I will strip murderous Ares of his ragged bucklers, I will bind the lord of battle, and carry him off, and make him Killer the Gentle; I will carry off Pallas and join her to Ephialtes, married at last; that I may see Ares a slave, and Athena a mother. Cronion also shall lift the spinning heavens of Atlas, and bear the load on weary shoulders—there shall he stand, and hear the song at my wedding, and hide his jealousy when I shall be Hera’s bridegroom. Torches shall not lack at my wedding. Bright lightning shall come of itself to be selfmade torch of the bride-chamber; Phaëthon himself instead of pine-brands, kindled at the light of his own flames, shall put his radiance at the service of Typhoeus the Bridegroom; the stars shall sprinkle their bridal sparks over Olympos as lamps to my loves, the stars, lights of evening! My servant Selene, Endymion’s bed-fellow, along with Aphrodite the friend of marriage, shall lay my bed; and if I want a bath, I will bathe in the waters of starry Eridanos. Come now, ye circling Seasons! You prepared the bed of Zeus, build now the bower of love for Typhoeus; you also, Leto, Athenaia, Paphian, Charis, Artemis, Hebe, bring

up form Oceanos his kindred water for Typhon the Bridegroom! And at the banquet of my table, with bridal quill Apollo my menial shall celebrate Typhoeus instead of Zeus.

2.4.1.4 Righteous Claim to the Throne

The last part of the speech (334–350) introduces the theme of justice (cf. 2.3.1: Δίκαιον). For Typhon, his kinship with Uranus and Cronus[72] justifies his invasion of Olympus (334: οὐ ξείνου δαπέδοιο φέρω πόθον). Moreover, he also claims to fight for the righteous return of the “heavenly Titans” (339–340: παλιννόστους δὲ τελέσσω | αἰθερίους Τιτῆνας).

Οὐ ξείνου δαπέδοιο φέρω πόθον· ἡμέτερον γάρ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόνωτον ἀδελφεὸν ἡνιοχεύσω,
Οὐρανὸν οἶκον ἔχων μητρώιον, υἱέα γαίης.
καὶ Κρόνον ὠμηστῆρα τὸ δεύτερον εἰς φάος ἕλκων
γνωτὸν ἐμὸν συνάεθλον ἀπὸ χθονίοιο βερέθρου
λύσω δεσμὰ βίαια, παλιννόστους δὲ τελέσσω
αἰθερίους Τιτῆνας,

I long for no stranger’s demesne; for Uranos is my brother, a son of Earth like myself; the star-dappled heaven which I shall rule, the heaven which I shall live in, comes to me through my mother. And cannibal Cronos I will drag up once more to the light, another brother, to help me in my task, out of the underground abyss; I will break those constraining chains, and bring back the Titans to heaven.

To sum up, Typhon’s speech, notwithstanding the fact that it is a speech of a monster to his own body parts, is actually a very good example of what an exhortation in the *Dionysiaca* looks like. As it is also the first exhortation in the narrative, it sets the tone for all others. Most of the topoi expected in an exhortation are present, but, because it is the speech of a monster to his own body parts, it can also be read as a parody of the speech genre. For all his monstrosity, Typhon is alone. His army is not as powerful as it seems; the boast in lines 342–344 that he needs more lightning bolts than Zeus because of his 200 arms is vain, since earlier in the narrative it has become clear that he cannot even hold one lightning bolt properly (1.296–320). In addition, the long

72 In the version used by Nonnus, Uranus is the son of Gaia and the father of Cronus (see Vian 1976, 179).

catalogue of punished Olympian gods—Typhon's visionary idea of what will happen after his victory—is grotesque rather than threatening. He boasts of his allies (Atlas, Cronus and the Titans), but these hypothetical allies all have been unsuccessful in the past and are imprisoned or have been severely punished for their deeds. Moreover, in spite of his hubristic claims, he actually is already defeated. He started his attack on Olympus after stealing Zeus' weapons (1.154–162), but these had already been taken back from him by the end of book 1 (1.409–2.19). The imminent failure of Typhon is in this way already present in this excessively confident speech.

An important clue for this interpretation of the speech is the reaction of Typhon's opponent. The laughter of Zeus immediately after Typhon's speech (in the capping formula of line 2.356) already sets the tone: εἶπεν ὁμοκλήσας· Κρονίδης δ' ἐγέλασσεν ἀκούων. The battle then immediately starts and Zeus easily gains the upper hand. When Typhon is finally defeated, Zeus triumphantly speaks over the fallen body of his enemy (2.565–630). He ironically repeats Typhon's plans to rule Olympus, marry Hera and enslave the other gods (2.569–604). Sneeringly, he asks the defeated Typhon what advantage his monstrosity and multitude of heads and arms has brought him (2.605–621). This sarcastic riposte echoes the most prominent themes of Typhon's speech and makes its parodical character even more apparent.[73]

2.4.2 *Pentheus and Lycurgus as Spurious Generals*

The three speeches by Lycurgus (21.135–146) and Pentheus (44.134–183 and 45.220–227) resemble Typhon's battle exhortation in the sense that the image created of the speaker throughout is not one of bravery and good statesmanship, as one would expect of an exhortation, but quite the reverse. As already noted, Lycurgus' speech is actually a desperate call for help, and Pentheus' blind rage against Dionysus merely shows how impossible and foolish his quest against Dionysus is.

2.4.2.1 Lycurgus

Ἅψατε πῦρ, φλέξωμεν ὅλον φυτόν, ἐν πυρὶ κείσθω
Βακχικὰ ταῦτα πέτηλα, καὶ αἰθομένας διὰ πόντου

73 Cf. Miguélez Cavero 2010, 26 on the parallelism between the two speeches: "Nonnus insists on his [Typhon's] lack of intelligence and sensibility and compares his attitude, boasting before the battle (1.427–480, 2.258–355), to Zeus', who scorns him after he is defeated (2.563–630)." See also Schmiel 1992, 372–373.

ἡμερίδας ῥίψωμεν ὑποβρυχίῳ Διονύσῳ,
ἠνορέης Ἀράβων σημήιον· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
δεξαμένη κατὰ κῦμα Θέτις πυρίκαυτον ὀπώρην
τέφρην ἀμπελόεσσαν ἀποσβέσσειε θαλάσσῃ.
Λύσατε φάσματα ταῦτα καὶ αἰόλα μάγγανα δεσμῶν·
μάγγανα Νηρεΐδων Ποσιδήια ταῦτα δοκεύω·
Λύσατε, καὶ ῥοθίοις με πελάσσατε· μαντιπόλῳ γὰρ
Πρωτέι φαρμακόεντι κορύσσομαι· ἅψατε πεύκην,
ὄφρα μολὼν παρὰ πόντον ἐμῷ ποινήτορι πυρσῷ
ξεινοδόκον Βρομίοιο καταφλέξω Μελικέρτην.

Make fire, let us burn all this stuff, let all these Bacchic leaves lie in the flames! Let us throw the blazing gardenvines into the sea for Dionysos in the deeps, to show the courage of Arabs! Let Thetis herself catch the scorched fruit in the waves, and quench the burning viny ashes in the sea! Loose these phantasms, this cunning witchery of bonds! I see here witchery of the Nereïds and Poseidon. Loose me and bring me to the sea! I will take arms against this prophet-wizard Proteus. Light a torch, that I may go down to the sea with my avenging torch, and set fire to Melicertes the entertainer of Bromios!

Lycurgus' speech (21.135–146) is very short. He gives orders that fire be brought (135: Ἄψατε πῦρ and 144: ἅψατε πεύκην), that he be cut loose (141 and 143: λύσατε) and brought to the sea (143: ῥοθίοις με πελάσσατε). In between these orders, he fiercely boasts of how he will strike back at the enemy. Whereas the speech itself resembles a general's exhortation, exhorting soldiers and promising glory and glorious deeds (esp. 138: ἠνορέης Ἀράβων σημήιον and 144: Πρωτέι φαρμακόεντι κορύσσομαι), the context does not confirm this. Throughout the episode, Lycurgus appears alone: he attacks Dionysus and the Bacchantes with his axe (20.325–351) but Dionysus escapes into the sea (20.352–369) and Lycurgus is captured by Ambrosia, who has metamorphosed into a vine (21.1–61). Lycurgus' solitude is even made explicit in the lines introducing his speech (21.132–134):

Ἄρεα μοῦνον ἔχων χραισήτορα, μοῦνος ἐρίζων
Ζηνί, Ποσειδάωνι, Ῥέῃ, Χθονί, Νηρέι, Βάκχῳ.
καὶ μογέων ἀχάλινον ἀπερροίβδησεν ἰωήν·

Facing alone Zeus, Poseidon, Rheia, Earth, Nereus, Bacchos, with only Ares to help him; and in his pain he shrieked out unbridled defiance.

He is alone, supported only by his father Ares, fighting no less than six deities, and his situation is so uncomfortable that he can barely speak (134: μογέων). It is, therefore, entirely unclear whom he is addressing with this speech (5 imperatives in the 2nd person plural), nor does anyone react afterwards. The mismatch between the miserable situation of the speaker in his solitude and the confident speech in which he exhorts absent (?), imaginary (?) or in any case non-responding troops creates a humorous effect, very much at his own expense. Dionysus' enemy thus is characterized not only as a brute (compare also 20.149–181: Lycurgus using the chopped-off heads of his visitors to decorate his city's gate) but also as a lunatic, who even in his most desperate moments claims to be able to do the impossible and burn the sea.

2.4.2.2 Pentheus

Likewise in the case of Pentheus, there is a sharp contrast between the context of his speeches and their content which defines them as battle exhortations. The fact that Euripides' *Bacchae* was Nonnus' main model for this episode, moreover, presents us with an important intertext for Pentheus' speeches. He speaks for the first time in 44.134–183:

Λυδὸν ἐμὸν θεράποντα κομίσσατε, θῆλυν ἀλήτην,
δαινυμένου Πενθῆος ὑποδρηστῆρα τραπέζης,
οἰνοτόκῳ ποτὸν ἄλλο διαστάζοντα κυπέλλῳ,
ἢ γλάγος ἢ γλυκὺ χεῦμα· κασιγνήτην δὲ τεκούσης
Αὐτονόην πληγῇσιν ἀμοιβαίῃσιν ἱμάσσω·
κύμβαλα δ' ἠχήεντα διαρρίψαντες ἀήταις
καὶ πάταγον Βερέκυντα καὶ εὔια τύμπανα Ῥείης
ἕλκετε Βασσαρίδας μανιώδεας, ἕλκετε Βάκχας,
ἀμφιπόλους Βρομίοιο συνήλυδας, ἃς ἐνὶ Θήβῃ
Ἰσμηνοῦ διεροῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐναύλοις
Νηίδας Ἀονίαις ποταμηίσι μίξατε Νύμφαις
ἥλικας, Ἀδρυάδας δὲ γέρων δέξοιτο Κιθαιρών
ἄλλαις Ἀδρυάδεσσιν ὁμόζυγας ἀντὶ Λυαίου.
Καὶ πλοκάμους τμήξωμεν ἀκερσικόμου Διονύσου.
Ἄξατε πῦρ, θεράποντες, ἐπεὶ ποινήτορι θεσμῷ,
ἐκ πυρὸς εἰ πέλε Βάκχος, ἐγὼ πυρὶ Βάκχον ὀπάσσω·
Ζεὺς Σεμέλην ἐδάμασσεν, ἐγὼ Διόνυσον ὀλέσσω.
Εἰ δέ κε πειρήσαιτο καὶ ἡμετέροιο κεραυνοῦ,
γνώσεται, οἷον ἔχω χθόνιον σέλας· οὐρανίου γάρ
θερμοτέρους σπινθῆρας ἐμὸν λάχεν ἀντίτυπον πῦρ·
σήμερον αἰθαλόεντα τὸν ἀμπελόεντα τελέσσω.

Εἰ δὲ μόθον στήσειε μαχήμονα θύρσον ἀείρων,
γνώσεται, οἷον ἔχω χθόνιον δόρυ· καί μιν ὀλέσσω,
οὐ ποδός, οὐ λαγόνων, οὐ στήθεος, οὐ κενεώνων
ὠτειλὴν μεθέποντα· καὶ οὐ βουπλῆγι δαΐξω
κυρτὰ βοοκραίροιο κεράατα δισσὰ μετώπου,
οὐδὲ διατμήξω μέσον αὐχένος· ἀλλά ἑ τύψω
ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ τετορημένον εἰς πτύχα μηροῦ,
ὅττι Διὸς μεγάλοιο γονὴν ἐψεύσατο μηροῦ
καὶ πόλον ὡς ἑὸν οἶκον· ἐγὼ δέ μιν ἀντὶ μελάθρου,
ἀντὶ Διὸς πυλεῶνος ἐνέρτερον Ἄιδι πέμψω,
ἠέ μιν αὐτοκύλιστον ἀλυσκάζοντα καλύψω
κύμασιν Ἰσμηνοῖο, καὶ οὐ χρέος ἐστὶ θαλάσσης.
Οὐ δέχομαι βροτὸν ἄνδρα νόθον θεόν· εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν,
ψεύσομαι, ὡς Διόνυσος, ἐμὸν γένος· οὐκ ἀπὸ Κάδμου
αἷμα φέρω χθονίοιο, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς ὄρχαμος ἄστρων,
Ἠέλιός με φύτευσε, καὶ οὐκ ἔσπειρεν Ἐχίων·
τίκτε Σεληναίη με, καὶ οὐκ ἐλόχευσεν Ἀγαύη·
εἰμὶ γένος Κρονίδαο, καὶ αἰθέρος εἰμὶ πολίτης·
οὐρανὸς ἀστερόφοιτος ἐμὴ πόλις· ἵλατε, Θῆβαι·
Παλλὰς ἐμὴ παράκοιτις, ἐμὴ δάμαρ ἄμβροτος Ἥβη·
Πενθέι μαζὸν ὄρεξε μετ' Ἄρεα δεσπότις Ἥρη,
καὶ ζαθέη μετὰ Φοῖβον ἐγείνατο Πενθέα Λητώ·
Ἄρτεμιν ἱεμένην νυμφεύσομαι· οὐδέ με φεύγει,
ὥς ποτε Φοῖβον ἔφευγεν ἑῆς μνηστῆρα κορείης,
μῶμον ἀλυσκάζουσα κασιγνήτων ὑμεναίων.
Εἰ δὲ τεὴν Σεμέλην οὐκ ἔφλεγεν οὐρανίη φλόξ,
παιδὸς ἑῆς διὰ μῶμον ἑὸν δόμον ἔφλεγε Κάδμος,
ἀστεροπὴν δ' ἐκάλεσσε χαμαιγενὲς ἁπτόμενον πῦρ,
καὶ δαΐδων ὀνόμηνε σέλας σπινθῆρα κεραυνοῦ.

Bring here my Lydian slave, that womanish vagabond, to serve the table of Pentheus at his dinner; let him fill his wine beaker with some other drink, milk or some sweet liquor; I will flog my mother's sister Autonoë with retributive strokes of my hands. Throw to the winds his tinkling cymbals, and the Berecyntian din and Euian tambourines of Rheia. Drag hither the mad Bassarids, drag the Bacchants hither, the handmaids who attend on Bromios—hurl them into the watery beds of Ismenos here in Thebes, mingle the Naiads with the Aonian river nymphs their mates, let old Cithairon receive Hadryads to join his own Hadryads instead of Lyaios. And we will crop the uncropt locks of Dionysos! Bring fire, men, for by the

> law of vengeance I will throw Bacchos into the fire, if he came out of the fire: Zeus tamed Semele, I will destroy Dionysos! If he would like to try my thunder also, he shall learn what fire I have from earth! For my fire has hotter sparks to match the heavenly fire. To-day I will make the viny one a scorchy one! If he lift his thyrsus and give battle, he shall learn what kind of a spear I have from earth. I will destroy him without a wound in foot or flank, breast or belly! I will not cut off the two crooked horns from his bull-horned head with a poleaxe, I will not cut through his neck: I will pierce the fork of his thigh with a blow from a spear of bronze, because of his lies about the thigh of great Zeus, and heaven as his home. Instead of the palace of Zeus, instead of his gatehouse, I will send him down to Hades, or make him roll himself helpless into the waves of Ismenos to hide—we can do without the sea! I will not receive a mortal man as a bastard god. If I dare say it, I will deny my own breeding, like Dionysos. I have not in me the blood of mortal Cadmos, but my father is the chief of stars—Helios begat me, not Echion; Selene brought me forth, not Agauë; I am the offspring of Cronides and a citizen of heaven, the sky with its wandering stars is my home—so forgive me Thebes! Pallas is my concubine, immortal Hebe my consort. Queen Hera gave me the breast after Ares, divine Leto brought me forth after Phoibos. I will woo Artemis, who wants me—she does not run from me as she did from Phoibos, the wooer of her maidenhood, because she feared blame for wedding with a brother. And if the heavenly flame did not burn your Semele, Cadmos did burn his house for his daughter's shame, and gave the name of lightning to the earthly fire he kindled, called the flame of torches the spark of the thunderbolt.

For this speech (44.134–183), the first speech of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (215–262) is an important intertext. In scholarship on Nonnus, Pentheus' speech has been heavily criticized by Collart (1930, 250), Keydell (1932, 193) and Tissoni (1998, 124) for being incoherent, unbalanced and a clumsy imitation of Euripides. More recently, however, Simon (2004, 19–22) has given a much more nuanced analysis of the speech, which, according to her, only explicitly borrows from Euripides for the passage denying Dionysus' divinity (*Bacch.* 242–247 ~ 44.148–167).[74]

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74 For the detailed reminiscences between the two speeches, see Simon's notes on this passage (2004, 171–176). In Euripides, Pentheus' speech starts as a narrative monologue, informing the audience about his experiences when he arrived back at Thebes and how he has already captured some of the Bacchantes (215–217). Only in the second part (with first person future indicatives) does he talk about the actions against Dionysus that will

It is the differences between the two speeches which are more interesting. When Euripides' Pentheus enters the stage, he gives off an impression of calm. He mentions how he has already captured a number of Bacchants, who are now guarded by his servants in prison (*Bacch.* 226–232). Nonnus' Pentheus has not achieved anything of the kind at this point and runs ahead of the facts by referring to Dionysus as his "Lydian slave" (134). Instead of looking back at a fairly successful first action to regain control in Thebes, he is still shouting orders to his servants, who are to catch Dionysus and the Bacchants (134: κομίσσατε and 141: 2 × ἕλκετε). Both speeches serve to characterize the Theban king, but have different illocutionary functions.[75] Euripides' Pentheus speaks only to himself (and to the theatre audience), whereas Nonnus' Pentheus addresses his men. They show the king in a different stage of the action. Euripides' Pentheus tells the audience what has happened and shows resolve to take further action. In Nonnus he is still in the middle of taking his first measures, or rather desperately trying to, by ordering about his servants as if he were a general on the battlefield.

The speech itself consists of three parts.[76] The first part (134–147), following the initial order to capture Dionysus and the Bacchants, looks ahead to their enslavement and how they will be treated in captivity. The second part (148–166), starting with a new order to the servants, deliberates about how Dionysus can best be killed. Ἄξατε πῦρ (148) recalls Lycurgus' Ἅψατε πῦρ (21.135) but also Deriades' ἄξατε πῦρ (39.35) in his battle-exhortation before the start of the naumachy. Both the enslavement of prisoners of war and the strategies of attack are topics frequently developed in the battle exhortations of the *Dionysiaca*.[77]

still have to be undertaken (228–241). Next, he elaborates on Dionysus' false divinity (242–247) and, in the last part of the speech, reacts to what he sees by first describing and then addressing the two old men (Cadmus and Teiresias), who are already on stage, dancing in their fawn skins. Line 162 in Nonnus (ὅττι Διὸς μεγάλοιο γονὴν ἐψεύσατο μηροῦ) especially recalls *Bacch.* 242–243 (ἐκεῖνος εἶναί φησι Διόνυσον θεόν | ἐκεῖνος ἐν μηρῷ ποτ' ἐρράφθαι Διός).

75 According to speech-act theorist John Searle (1976, 10–16, see also n. 6 above), the illocutionary acts (= the actions one performs while speaking) can be divided into five categories: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. Pentheus' soliloquy in Euripides is representative (he tells a story and claims it is true) and commissive (he promises himself to take further action), but not directive like the exhortation in Nonnus (who commands his servants to capture Dionysus).

76 See also Simon 2004, 19–22 for the three-part composition of the speech.

77 See above, esp. 2.3.4. Simon (2004, 20) connects the topoi in Pentheus' speech with the speeches of Deriades: "Cette accumulation développe des thèmes figurant dans les discours de Dériade qui tantôt veut asservir Dionysos, tantôt le tuer, à moins qu' il n' hésite entre les deux solutions."

The final part of Pentheus' speech is a grotesque denial of Dionysus' divinity (167–183). The argument used by Pentheus is a *reductio ad absurdum*: if Dionysus can make up a story about *his* divine nature, so can Pentheus, he argues. He therefore inserts a nonsensical autobiography (168: ψεύσομαι, ὡς Διόνυσος, ἐμὸν γένος) in which he presents himself as the son of both Helius *and* Zeus, Hera *and* Leto and as the husband of Athena, Heba *and* Artemis. With this absurd story, he indulges even further in blasphemy than Typhon (who predicts that he will marry Hera and give Athena and Artemis in marriage to other sons of Gaia, see 2.4.1.3) and Deriades (who also regularly questions the divinity of Dionysus in his exhortations, see 2.2.1).

The transformation of Pentheus into a commanding officer giving an exhortation, and thus of his servants (148: θεράποντες, cf. *Bacch.* 227: πρόσπολοι) into an army, is also visible in the narrator's text introducing and capping the speech. At line 133, Pentheus is still addressing his servants as δμώεσσιν,[78] whereas in 184–186, when the reaction to his speech is described, they have been transformed into a group of "countless soldiers" "marching to the battlefield" (184: ἐπεστρατόωντο μαχηταί and 186: στρατὸς ἄσπετος).[79]

I fully agree with the conclusion of Bernadette Simon, who remarks that the speech above all serves to characterize Pentheus as a "bouffon qui a perdu la raison" (2004, 22). In my opinion, this effect is reinforced by Pentheus' implicit characterization as a general through this speech, which is constructed as a typically Nonnian general's exhortation, strongly reminiscent of those delivered by Deriades and other enemies of the wine-god. Pentheus is portrayed as a general without troops, whose entire city has already fallen under the spell of Dionysus. This overconfident exhortation, directed to the few faithful servants he has left, reveals him to have totally lost control.

The second speech (45.220–227) in which Pentheus addresses his servants, closely resembles the first part of his first speech. He opens his speech with the words δμῶες ἐμοί (220), reminiscent of 27.22, the first line of the first battle exhortation of Deriades. After this, new orders are given to capture Dionysus (221: ἄξατέ μοι) and Pentheus' own mother Agave (226: μεταστήσασθε).

78 44.132–133: καὶ κενεῆς προχέων ὑπερήνορα κόμπον ἀπειλῆς | τοῖον ἔπος δμώεσσιν ἀτάσθαλος ἴαχε Πενθεύς· "Then Pentheus uttered proud boasts and empty threats to his servants in these insulting words." Note also that the words of Pentheus are announced by the narrator as empty threats (κενεῆς […] ἀπειλῆς), thus already undermining his credibility as a "general".

79 Simon 2004, 23: "Nonnos ne s' arrête pas à cette incohérence."

Δμῶες ἐμοί, στείχοντες ἐν ἄστεϊ καὶ μέσον ὕλης
ἄξατέ μοι βαρύδεσμον ἀνάλκιδα τοῦτον ἀλήτην,
ὄφρα τυπεὶς Πενθῆος ἀμοιβαίῃσιν ἱμάσθλαις
μηκέτι φαρμακόεντι ποτῷ θέλξειε γυναῖκας,
ἀλλὰ γόνυ κλίνειεν. Ἀπὸ σκοπέλων δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν
μητέρα βακχευθεῖσαν ἐμὴν φιλότεκνον Ἀγαύην
φοιτάδος ἀγρύπνοιο μεταστήσασθε χορείης,
λυσσαλέης ἐρύσαντες ἀνάμπυκα βότρυν ἐθείρης.

> My servants, make haste through the city and the depth of the woods—bring me here in heavy chains that weakling vagabond, that flogged by the repeated lashes of Pentheus he may cease to bewitch women with his drugged potion, and bend the knee instead. Bring back also out of the hills my fond mother Agauë now gone mad, separate her from the sleepless wandering dance—drag her by the hair now snoodless in her frenzy!

The narrator's introduction of this second speech is reminiscent of the capping lines of the first. Pentheus is now, with a certain irony, portrayed by the narrator as a fierce general (219: ἀσπίδα κουφίζων κορυθαιόλος) and his servants as heavily armed soldiers (218: σιδηροφόροις δὲ μαχηταῖς). There is, however, still no actual battle going on and the ὀπάονες (228) sent out into the woods to capture Dionysus are no more successful than their self-proclaimed "general".

The insertion of a second speech in the same vein intensifies the effect of the first. The conventions of the battle exhortation are used to undermine Pentheus' credibility as a ruler. This effect is created not only by the fact that this type of speech is used in an inappropriate context but also by the hyperbole of certain exhortative topoi (esp. with regard to the denial of Dionysus' divinity). The cases of Pentheus and Lycurgus are fine examples of characterization through speech. Whereas battle exhortations in the epic tradition generally serve to characterize the speaker as an honourable and courageous leader or a true strategist, here, two enemies of Dionysus are characterized as hubristic fools. Nonnus seems to deliberately misuse the speech type of the general's exhortation in order ridicule his protagonist's most blasphemous opponents.

2.4.3 *Inverse Exhortations*

As already pointed out in 2.2.2, the subtype of the divine exhortation is in Nonnus sometimes also used with opposite effect of what might be expected.

Resembling an exhortation in the way the speech is inserted into the narrative as well as in in several details of the content, the speeches of Iris/Hermes to Dionysus (20.266–288) and Rhea's vision to Ares (29.328–361) could be called "inverse exhortations". The speech type of the battle exhortation is used in these speeches to do the opposite of what a battle exhortation usually does. They aim to refrain from rather than to exhort to battle.

2.4.3.1 Iris/Hermes to Dionysus

Our first example, spoken by Hera's messenger Iris in the guise of Hermes, is part of an opposing pair: Hera sends Iris out to pay both Lycurgus and Dionysus a visit.[80] First, she disguises herself as Ares to approach Ares' son Lycurgus in order to exhort him to fight Dionysus. Her speech (20.196–221) is a full-fledged battle exhortation in which several topoi can be recognized. In the first part of the speech (196–204), she calls Lycurgus a coward ("rebukes for cowardice", see 2.3.3) and upbraids him for his supposed fear of the effeminate Dionysus and his army of women with their untraditional weaponry ("denigrating the enemy's commander" and "superiority of the weaponry", see 2.3.4). Next (205), she scolds his idleness, while Dionysus is getting ready for war.[81] Afterwards (206–215), she denies Dionysus' divinity, and finally (218–221) she offers Lycurgus the military support of Ares and Hera ("denial of divine descent" and "divine support", see 2.3.1).[82]

Iris' subsequent speech to Dionysus (20.266–288) aims for the opposite effect. She uses her guise of Hermes, Dionysus' trusted brother, to gain his trust

80 Similarly, Zeus sends messengers out to both the Greek and the Trojan camp in *Il.* 15. The situation is comparable, but not entirely parallel. Iris in the *Iliad* openly tells Poseidon to stop helping the Greeks on the orders of Zeus (*Il.* 15.201–204) and Apollo, the second messenger, openly encourages Hector (*Il.* 15.244–261). In the *Dionysiaca*, Iris uses a disguise for both speeches and uses a ruse against Dionysus.

81 Also the reproach for idleness is a recurring topos in battle exhortations. Most of its occurrences in Nonnus are reminiscent of *Il.* 2.23: εὕδεις Ἀτρέος υἱὲ, as for example in *D.* 26.10 εὕδεις, Δηριάδη and *D.* 20.44: ὑπνώεις, Διόνυσε θεηγενές. See also de Jong (2001, 122 and 153–154), who states that a reproach for being asleep (or at least not doing what they should do) is the most typical opener for a 'dream' speech. "Dreamers are usually reproached for sleeping while action is required." She mentions three examples from the *Iliad* (beside *Il.* 2.23–34 also 23.69–92 and 24.683–688) and 4 from the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 4.804–807, 6.25–40, 15.10–42 and 20.30–57). Here, Lycurgus is not rebuked for being asleep, but for being at rest (ἠρεμέεις). The same reproach (ἠρεμέεις) also appears twice in the exhortation of Zeus to the divine allies of Dionysus (*D.* 27.318 and 326).

82 Exhorting gods often offer their personal help, for example also in *D.* 4.393–405, Athena's exhortation to Cadmus.

and approaches him to dissuade Dionysus from battle as part of Hera's ruse to secure Lycurgus' victory over him.

Γνωτέ, περισσονόοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἔκτοθι χάρμης
ὄργια σεῖο κόμιζε φιλοξείνῳ Λυκοόργῳ.
Λεῖπε μόθον, μὴ κτεῖνε φίλους, μὴ φεῦγε γαλήνην,
ἵλαθι μειλιχίοισι· τίς ἤπιον ἄνδρα δαμάσσει;
Μηδὲ τεοῖς ἱκέτῃσιν ἀναστήσειας ἐνυώ·
μὴ τεὸν ἀστερόεντι δέμας θώρηκι καλύψῃς·
μὴ κεφαλὴν σφίγξειας ἀερσιλόφῳ τρυφαλείῃ·
μὴ τρίχα μιτρώσειας ἐχιδνήεντι κορύμβῳ.
Ἀλλὰ λιπὼν σέο θύρσα μιαιφόνα, καὶ κέρας οἴνου
ἔμπλεον ἡδυπότοιο καὶ ἠθάδα ῥάβδον ἀείρων,
εὔια δῶρα τίταινε φιλοσταφύλῳ Λυκοόργῳ·
ἄρτι δέμας κόσμησον ἀναιμάκτῳ σέο πέπλῳ,
ἄρτι μέλος πλέξωμεν ἀθωρήκτοιο χορείης.
Καὶ στρατὸς ἠρεμέων μενέτω παρὰ δάσκιον ὕλην,
μὴ μόθον ἐντύνειε γαληναίῳ βασιλῆι·
ἀλλά, βαλὼν πλοκάμοισι φίλον στέφος, ἔρχεο χαίρων
εἰς δόμον ἀκλήιστον ἑτοιμοτάτου Λυκοόργου,
ἔρχεο κωμάζων ἅτε νυμφίος· Ἰνδοφόνους δέ
θύρσους σεῖο φύλαξον ἀπειθέι Δηριαδῆι.
Οὐ μὲν ἄναξ Λυκόοργος ἀνάλκιδα θυμὸν ἀέξει·
ἔστι γὰρ Ἄρεος αἷμα Διιπετές, ἐν δὲ κυδοιμοῖς
πατρὸς Ἐνυαλίοιο φέρων ἐμφύλιον ἀλκὴν
οὐδὲ τεοῦ Κρονίωνος ὑποπτήσσειεν ἐνυώ.

Brother, son of Zeus Allwise, put war aside, and celebrate your rites with Lycurgos, a willing host. Let battle be, slay not your friends, do not refuse peace! Be gracious to the gentle; who will vanquish a humble man? Do not stir up strife against those who ask you for mercy. Do not cover your body with a starspangled corselet; do not enclose your head in a crestlifting helmet; do not entwine your hair with a garland of serpents. Leave your bloodstained rods behind; take your familiar staff and a horn full of your delicious wine, and offer Euian gifts to Lycurgos who loves the grape! Now dress your body in your unblooded tunic, now let us make melody for a dance without corselet. And let your army remain quiet near the shady wood that it may not offer battle to a peaceful king. No, put on your head the garland that you love; go in joy to the open house of Lycurgos ready to welcome, go in revel like a bridegroom, and keep your Indian-slaying rods

> for disobedient Deriades. You know King Lycurgus has no coward soul. He is the son of Ares with the blood of Zeus in him; in battle he shows the inborn prowess of Enyalios his father, nor would he shrink from combat with your Cronion himself.

The two opposing speeches share a number of common elements. Whereas Lycurgus at first is reproached for his unnecessary fear of a weaker enemy, Dionysus is reproached for his aggressiveness towards a supposedly "friendly" and "hospitable" Lycurgus. In both speeches, the topic is elaborated upon with a series of negations (198–201: οὐκ ... |οὐκ ... |οὐ ... |οὐ ..., 268–273 μὴ ... |μὴ ... |μηδὲ ... |μὴ ... |μὴ ...).[83] Whereas the negations in the speech to Lycurgus concern the untraditional—and thus harmless—gear and weaponry of Dionysus (200–202: he has no bow and arrow, no brave horses, no shields), Dionysus is advised to leave his war gear behind (271–273: don't wear a thorax, a helmet or a headdress with snakes). Most strikingly, the negative imperative μὴ φεῦγε, which could be expected in an actual battle exhortation, is in this inverse exhortation used to articulate the opposite message: Dionysus is advised "not to flee peace" (268: μὴ φεῦγε γαλήνην).

In the second part of the speech to Dionysus, the advice against the use of warfare is supplemented with positive advice on what to take along instead (274 and 281: ἀλλά). The army should stay behind at rest (279: καὶ στρατὸς ἠρεμέων μενέτω παρὰ δάσκιον ὕλην) and the participle ἠρεμέων echoes the earlier reproach to Lycurgus (205: ἠρεμέεις, Λυκόοργε, κορυσσομένου Διονύσου;).

The speech ends—surprisingly—with a portrait of Lycurgus as a courageous man, a true son of Ares, who would not even fear to fight Zeus (285–288). It is not entirely clear how this last part contributes to the general aim of the speech to persuade Dionysus to approach Lycurgus unarmed. It can, however, be seen as the structural counterpart of Dionysus' portrayal in Iris' speech to Lycurgus. The characterization of Dionysus as a weak, effeminate and therefore false son of Zeus (206–215) is in sharp contrast with this portrait of Lycurgus as the valiant son of Ares.

The structure of the entire scene with the double role of Iris, helping Lycurgus and deceiving Dionysus, may recall the role of Athena in the build-up scene to the final battle of Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22. Also here we find a pair of exhortations, spoken by one and the same goddess to the two enemies separately. After openly exhorting her favourite, Achilles, in *Il.* 22.216–223, Athena

83 Hopkinson 1994a, 10 n. 1: "Les deux discours commencent par une apostrophe emphatique [...], suivie d'une série anaphorique de négations [...]."

appears to Hector in the guise of his brother Deiphobus. Her deceptive exhortation (22.229–231 and 239–246), with the false offer to help, gives him false hope and leads him to his defeat, which is exactly the effect Hera hopes to achieve with Iris' deceptive visit to Dionysus. The same passage is imitated by Nonnus in book 40 of the *Dionysiaca*, leading to Deriades' defeat (see above under 2.2.2).

There are, however, also important differences which can be read as signs of Nonnus' knowledge of and conscious engagement with speech type conventions. The two speeches by Iris are clearly constructed as structural counterparts. They are of roughly the same length, Iris in both cases adopts the guise of a trusted relative of the addressee and, as I have demonstrated, they have a very similar structure. In the *Iliad* the same speech type (an actual exhortation) is used in both cases (Athena to Achilles ~ Athena to Hector), but without developing any further parallels between the two. In Nonnus, however, the strong parallels between the two speeches (actual exhortation and inverse exhortation) seem to have the additional function of highlighting the paradoxical nature of the second exhortation and thus to draw the attention to the playful inversion of the speech type.

2.4.3.2 The Vision Sent by Rhea to Ares

My second example, the speech (29.328–361) in a false vision sent to Ares, reads as a parody of the deceptive dream sent to Agamemnon by Zeus in *Il.* 2.23–34, and has been analysed as such in Hélène Frangoulis's article "Réécritures parodiques et humoristiques d'Homère chez Nonnos de Panopolis" (2011). As was also observed by Frangoulis, Nonnus combines elements of the dream of Agamemnon with the story of the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares as narrated in *Od.* 8.266–366. The result is a humorous parody of Homer. As in Iris' speech to Dionysus, the goal of the speech is to dissuade its addressee from participating in battle. This time it is not achieved by persuading the addressee of the supposedly peaceful intentions of the opponent in battle but rather by leading him away from the battlefield with a deceptive story about Aphrodite, who, it is claimed, has left Ares for her former husband Hephaestus. Thus the roles are inverted in this comical "sequel" to the canonical story of Aphrodite and Ares.[84]

> Ἄρες, Ἄρες, σὺ μὲν εὗδε, δυσίμερε, μοῦνος ἰαύων
> Χαλκοχίτων, Παφίην δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑψόθι λέκτρων
> ὑμετέρην Ἥφαιστος ἔχει προτέρην Ἀφροδίτην·

84 On echoes of *Od.* 8.266–366 in the *Dionysiaca*, see also Verhelst 2014.

ἐκ δὲ δόμων ἐδίωκε Χάριν, ζηλήμονα νύμφην·
ἀρχαίην δὲ δάμαρτα παλίνδρομον εἰς γάμον ἕλκων
αὐτὸς Ἔρως τόξευεν ἀναινομένην Ἀφροδίτην,
Ἡφαίστῳ γενετῆρι φέρων χάριν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
Ζῆνα μέγαν παρέπεισε πόθων ἀδίδακτος Ἀθήνη,
παρθενικὴ δολόμητις, ὅπως Ἥφαιστον ἀλύξῃ,
μνησαμένη νόθα λέκτρα πεδοτρεφέων ὑμεναίων,
μὴ προτέρου μετὰ πότμον Ἐρεχθέος ἄρσενι μαζῷ
ἄλλον ἀεξήσειε νεώτερον υἱὸν Ἀρούρης.—
Ἔγρεο, καὶ Θρήισσαν ἰὼν ἐπὶ πέζαν ἐρίπνης
δέρκεο σὴν Κυθέρειαν ἐθήμονος ἔνδοθι Λήμνου,
δέρκεο, πῶς προπύλαια Πάφου καὶ ἐδέθλια Κύπρου
ἄνθεσιν ἐστεφάνωσε γαμόστολος ἐσμὸς Ἐρώτων,
Βυβλιάδων δ' ἐπάκουε μελιζομένων Ἀφροδίτην
καὶ νεαρὴν φιλότητα παλιννόστων ὑμεναίων.
Ἆρες, ἐνοσφίσθης σέο Κύπριδος· ἀνδροφόνον γάρ
ὁ βραδὺς ὠκὺν Ἄρηα παρέδραμε. Μέλπε καὶ αὐτός
Ἡφαίστῳ πυρόεντι συναπτομένην Ἀφροδίτην.—
Σικελίης δ' ἐπίβηθι, παρισταμένους δὲ καμίνῳ
λίσσεό μοι Κύκλωπας· ἀριστοπόνου δὲ καὶ αὐτοί
ἴδμονες Ἡφαίστοιο, σοφῶν ζηλήμονες ἔργων,
σοὶ δόλον ἐντύνωσι καὶ ἀρχαίῳ σέο δεσμῷ
ὁπλότερον τελέσωσιν ὁμοίιον, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτός
ἀμφοτέρους δολίῃσιν ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι πιέζων
δήσῃς φῶρα γάμοιο τεῷ ποινήτορι δεσμῷ,
εἰλιπόδην Ἥφαιστον ἐπισφίγξας Ἀφροδίτῃ·
καί σε θεοὶ ξύμπαντες ἐπαινήσουσιν Ὀλύμπου
δέσμιον ἀγρεύσαντα τεῶν συλήτορα λέκτρων.—
Ἔγρεο, καὶ σὺ γένοιο δολοπλόκος· ἔγρεο, νύμφης
ἁρπαμένης ἀλέγιζε. τί σοι κακὰ Δηριαδῆος;
Σιγὴ ἐφ' ἡμείων, Φαέθων μὴ μῦθον ἀκούσῃ.

Sleep on Ares, sleep on hapless lover, now you lie alone in your coat of mail! But the Paphian—Hephaistos lies again in his bed and possesses Aphrodite, once yours! He has chased out of the house Charis, his jealous bride; Eros himself has shot reluctant Aphrodite with an arrow, and brought back the ancient wife to a second marriage to please Hephaistos his father. Indeed, Athena herself, who knows nothing of love, has persuaded great Zeus—the cunning virgin! She wants to evade Hephaistos, for she remembers the makeshift marriage on the nourishing soil

> and would not nurse another son of the earth on her manlike breast, a younger brother of Erechtheus now the first is dead. Awake! Go to the upland plain of the Thracian mountain, and see your Cythereia in her own familiar Lemnos. See how her swarm of nuptial Loves have crowned with flowers the portals of Paphos and the buildings of Cyprus; hear the women of Byblos celebrate Aphrodite in their hymns, and the fresh love of a wedlock renewed again. Ares, you have lost your Cypris! The slow one has outrun murderous Ares the quick! Sing a hymn yourself to Aphrodite united with fiery Hephastos! Set foot in Sicily, put your prayer, if you please, to the Cyclopes standing by their forge. They are in the secrets of Hephaistos the master craftsman, they can rival his clever work; they will invent an artifice for you and make a later imitation of your net, that you too may smother them both in galling meshes, and fasten the thief of your marriage in avenging toils, and bind limpfoot Hephaistos to Aphrodite. Then all the gods of Olympos will applaud you, when you have caught the ravisher of your bed in those bonds. Awake! Be the cunning schemer in your turn! Awake—attend your stolen bride! What are the woes of Deriades to you?—But let us be silent, or Phaëthon may hear.

The link with the dream of Agamemnon is made explicit in the opening lines of the speech. In 29.328 (σὺ μὲν εὗδε), the vision sent by Rhea encourages Ares to keep on sleeping, with clear reference to *Iliad* 2.23–24 (εὕδεις [...]| οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν) Frangoulis (2011, 97) accurately comments on the reversal of the Iliadic situation here:

> Le changement de mode combiné avec la reprise du verbe εὕδω, accentue le contraste avec le texte homérique, et cela d'autant plus que l'explication fournie souligne l'ironie de la situation: 'repose solitaire dans ta tunique d'airain: la Paphienne, c'est Héphaïstos qui la possède de nouveau dans son lit' (29.328–330). Autrement dit, Arès n'a plus qu'à dormir, maintenant qu'il ne peut plus se livrer à des activités amoureuses. Quant aux autres types d'occupation qui pourraient être les siennes (combattre Dionysos par exemple), il n'en est absolument pas question. Nonnos substitue donc au contexte épique un contexte érotique;

First, Ares is encouraged to continue sleeping, but in the second part of the speech, he is urged to wake up (29.340 and 359: ἔγρεο), which also corresponds to the next phase in the dream of Agamemnon urging him to take action (*Il.* 2.26: νῦν δ' ἐμέθεν ξύνες ὦκα). Whereas Agamemnon is exhorted to battle,

Ares has to wake up in order to find his unfaithful lover Aphrodite.[85] The advice given to Ares is presented in a series of imperatives (341: δέρκεο, 342: δέρκεο, 344: ἐπάκουε, 347: μέλπε and 350: λίσσεο)—as if it were a proper battle exhortation—but these formal elements are in contrast with the content of the speech. The advice to listen, sing and beg is in sharp contrast with the more manly actions expected in a battle exhortation. The last piece of advice, to beg the Cyclopes for help (29.350–356), brings the travesty to its climax. Ares is urged to beg the Cyclopes to provide a second golden net with which to catch Aphrodite and Hephaestus in the act.[86] Not only is this a wink to *Odyssey* 8.272–281 and the ruse of Hephaestus, it can also be read as an echo of the battle exhortations of Typhon (2.339–342)[87] and Deriades (27.89–94),[88] in which the Cyclopes are referred to as armourers. Not only Ares, but also the Cyclopes are transferred from a context of battle and battle exhortations to a context of amorous intrigue.

Finally, in the third part of the dream, Ares is deluded with the promise of praise by the other gods (357–361) if he succeeds in the plan to catch Aphrodite and Hephaestus. Thus the promise of renown after victory—a common element in battle exhortations[89]—is also transferred to this amorous context.[90]

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85 See also Frangoulis 2011, 99: "Alors que dans l'*Iliade*, Agamemnon se voit préscrire de rassembler les Achéens pour les appeler aux armes contre une Troie désormais promise à la défaite, la fin de l'inactivité et le départ d'Arès ne doivent avoir chez Nonnos qu'un seul but: retrouver Aphrodite à Lemnos."

86 There is a possible ambiguity in 359: καὶ σὺ γένοιο δολοπλόκος. The ruse Ares has to imitate is that of Hephaestus' net, but the adjective δολοπλόκος traditionally refers to the wily Aphrodite (cf. Ricceri 2013). Nonnus is the only author to use this otherwise rare adjective on a more regular basis and not limited to Aphrodite, but also to describe the wily actions of different mythological characters and gods.

87 2.339–342 (in the exhortation by Typhon to his "troops"): παλιννόστους δὲ τελέσσω | αἰθερίους Τιτῆνας, ὁμωροφίους δὲ κομίσσω | Γηγενέας Κύκλωπας ἐς οὐρανόν, ἄλλα δὲ τεύξω | ὅπλα πυρός· "And bring back the Titans to heaven, and settle under the same roof in the sky the Cyclopes, sons of Earth. I will make more weapons of fire."

88 27.89–94 (in the exhortation by Deriades to his troops): μὴ χθονίους Κύκλωπας ὀλέσσατε· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων | δεύομαι· Ἰνδῴῳ δὲ παρήμενος ἐσχαρεῶνι | Βρόντης μὲν βαρύδουπον ἐμοὶ σάλπιγγα τελέσσῃ | βρονταίοις πατάγοισιν ἰσόκτυπον, ὄφρα κεν εἴην | Ζεὺς χθόνιος, Στερόπης δὲ νέην ἀντίρροπον αἴγλην | ἀστεροπῇ τεύξειε καὶ ἐνθάδε· "No, kill not the Cyclopeans of the earth, for I want them too: they shall sit in an Indian smithy! Brontes shall make me a heavyrumbling trumpet to mock the thunder's roar, that I may be an earthly Zeus; Steropes shall make here on earth a new rival lightning."

89 See 2.3.3 on the topos of glory.

90 The reference to the praise of the other gods could also be read as a reference to the mixed reactions (shame, laughter and praise) of the gods after Hephaestus' ruse (*Od.* 8.321–343).

Within the epic tradition, this exhortation designed to make Ares quit the battlefield can be compared, not only with the dream of Agamemnon, but in its capacity of an inverse exhortation also with Agamemnon's own speech to his troops, later in *Iliad* 2 (110–141).[91] After being exhorted himself by the deceptive dream, Agamemnon famously adopts an interesting strategy of reverse psychology. By trying to convince the Achaean soldiers to refrain from war, he wants to provoke the opposite reaction of protest against an inglorious retreat. Agamemnon's speech immediately follows the proposal of Nestor to rouse the Achaeans to battle (*Il.* 2.83: ἀλλ' ἄγετ' αἴ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν), which is an important clue to read it as an exhortation, in which, however, the expected strategy of an exhortation is inverted. Exhortative topoi are elaborated upon (*Il.* 2.119: shame of retreat, 123–130: superiority in numbers) but used to convey a message that is opposite to the conventions of the genre. Ultimately, by the use of reverse psychology, the goal of rousing the Achaeans to battle, however, remains the same.

In the case of Rhea's vision, there is no reverse psychology at work. It is an inverse exhortation in the true sense of the word, aiming to divert Ares' attention away from the battlefield. Exhortatory topoi and structures are converted to a new context in order to achieve the opposite effect. As such, this scene cannot only be read as a "réécriture parodique et humoristique d'Homère" but also as a humorous travesty of the literary and rhetorical concept of the battle-exhortation.

2.4.4 *Love on the Battlefield*

My final example in this series of exceptional exhortations also involves a clear pair of opposing exhortations. The Hymenaeus episode rewrites the famous passage of the *Iliad* (4.73–219) in which Pandarus breaks the truce and Menelaos gets injured, much to the sorrow of his concerned brother Agamemnon (see also above under 2.2.3). Nonnus, however, adds a pronouncedly erotic

91 A similar example of an inverse exhortation is *Posth.* 6.9–31 (Menelaos to the Greeks) who uses the same inverse psychology as Agamemnon did in the *Iliad*. Compare also *Il.* 22.38–76: Priamus trying to convince Hector not to face Achilles. The goal of this speech is to restrain Hector from battle (= the opposite of a battle-exhortation). But, contrary to the examples mentioned above (*Il.* 2.110–141, *Posth.* 6.9–31, *D.* 20.266–288 and *D.* 29.328–361), there are no signs in the speech itself (topoi, structural elements, verbal echoes of other exhortations) nor in its context (cf. the expectation roused in *Il.* 2.83 that Agamemnon will soon exhort the troops) that would suggest an interpretation within the conceptual framework of the exhortation. I would therefore refrain from calling this last speech an inverse exhortation.

flavour. The role of "Menelaos" goes to Dionysus' lover Hymenaeus.[92] The pair of exhortations at the start of this episode (29.39–44 and 52–67) can be seen as an expansion by Nonnus of the Homeric framework. Two exhortations replace the single exhortation by Athena, who in the *Iliad* exhorts Pandarus in the guise of Laodocus (*Il.* 4.93–103). The exhortation to Pandarus clearly serves as the model for the second of the two exhortations in Nonnus, made by an anonymous Indian to his fellow soldier Melaneus (29.52–67), which I will therefore treat first:

Τοξότα, πῇ σέο τόξα καὶ ἠνεμόεντες ὀιστοί;
Ἡμέας ἀβροχίτωνες ὀιστεύουσι γυναῖκες.
Ἀλλὰ βέλος προΐαλλε μινυνθαδίῳ Διονύσῳ·
μή σε παραπλάγξειεν Ὀλύμπιον οὔνομα φήμης·
μὴ τρομέοις ποτὲ Βάκχον, ὃς ἐκ χθονίοιο τοκῆος
ὠκύμορον λάχεν αἷμα, Διὸς δ' ἐψεύσατο φύτλην.
Δεῦρο βέλος προΐαλλε καί, ἐς σκοπὸν αἴ κε τυχήσῃς,
δέχνυσαι ἄσπετα δῶρα βαθυπλούτου βασιλῆος,
αἴ κεν ἴδῃ Διόνυσον, ἀγήνορα παῖδα Θυώνης,
πυρκαϊῆς ἐπιβάντα τεῷ δμηθέντα βελέμνῳ·
ἓν δὲ βέλος λύσειεν ὅλον μόθον. Ἀμφοτέροις δέ,
Ὕδατι χεῖρας ἄειρε καὶ εὔχεο μητέρι Γαίῃ·
ῥέζειν δ' ἀμφοτέροισι θυηπολίας μετὰ νίκην
ἀψεύστοις στομάτεσσιν ὑπόσχεο· καὶ παρὰ βωμῷ
ταυροφυὴς ἐχέτω κεραελκέα ταῦρον Ὑδάσπης,
Γαῖα δὲ κυανέη μελανόχροον ἄρνα δεχέσθω.

Archer, where is your bow, where are your windswift arrows? Women in dainty dress are shooting their arrows at us! Come, aim a shot at shortlived Dionysos! Let not the legend of his Olympian name mislead you. Never fear Bacchos, who has in him the mortal blood of a quickfated father, and lies when he calls himself son of Zeus. Here—let fly your shot, and if you can hit the mark, accept infinite gifts from our wealthy king, if he sees Dionysos, Thyone's haughty son, brought down by your shaft and laid on a pyre. One shot would finish all our troubles. Pray to both—stretch out

92 Hymenaeus has already appeared in the catalogue of book 13 as the handsome young captain of the Boeotian troops (13.85: Βρομίῳ πεφιλημένος). His presence is mentioned during the battle of Nicaea (15.162: κοῦρον ἐρωμανέεσσιν ἐδέρκετο Βάκχος ὀπωπαῖς) and in 24.88–91. He will reappear in 37.722–749 to win the archery contest, much to Dionysus' pleasure.

> your hands to the Water and pray to Mother Earth, and with truthful lips vow to both sacrifice after victory; at the altar let bullshaped Hydaspes hold a hornstrong bull, and let black Earth receive a black ram.

The parallels between the exhortation to Melaneus and its equivalent in the *Iliad* are striking, especially in lines 59–61, which paraphrase *Il.* 4.97–99.[93] In both cases the speaker promises that the archer will receive generous gifts from the king when he sees how his enemy is defeated and brought to the pyre. In both cases, the speaker also advises the addressee to pray before shooting and to promise sacrifices to the gods (*Il.* 4.101–103 ~ D. 29.62–67). In fact, the strong imitation of Homer in this passage has even led Francis Vian (1990, 205) to assume that the anonymous Indian, by analogy with Athena/Laodocus, has to be seen as the spokesman of Hera.

Only this second part of the speech, however, is of direct Homeric inspiration. The speech opens with the exhortatory topos of scorning idleness and unnecessary fear of the weaker (because mostly female) enemy troops (52–53). This is closely followed by a second exhortative argument, in which any remaining fear is dissolved by the denial of Dionysus' divinity (54–57).[94] Both are recurring themes in the exhortations of Dionysus' enemies.[95] These two additions compared to Homer contribute to the exhortatory character of the speech and make it a more "complete" (and slightly longer) exhortation than its model (16 versus 11 lines).

Returning now to the first exhortation of the pair (Dionysus to Hymenaeus, 29.39–44), it is interesting to confront the commentaries of Vian and Agosti on this passage. According to Vian (1990, 203 n. 1), it has only one function: "Cette exhortation de Dionysos n'a de sens que dans la mesure où elle annonce celle de l'Indien, puisque Dériade est absent du ch. XXIX." Vian argues that because of the absence of Deriades,[96] an exhortation to shoot him would be superfluous

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93 *Il.* 4.97–99: τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο, | αἴ κεν ἴδῃ Μενέλαον ἀρήιον Ἀτρέος υἱὸν | σῷ βέλεϊ δμηθέντα πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ' ἀλεγεινῆς. "From him [i.e. Paris, who is called Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλῆϊ at line 96] you would surely before all others carry off glorious gifts, if he should see Menelaos, the warlike son of Atreus, laid low by your arrow and set on the grievous pyre" (transl. Murray 1999^2). See also Vian 1990, 336 and Agosti 2004, 293.

94 The use of the adjectives μινυνθάδιος (54) and ὠκύμορος (57) also give a Homeric flavour to these lines. Both adjectives regularly occur in the *Dionysiaca*, but are combined only twice (also in 11.236 and 245, with reference to Ampelus).

95 For these arguments see also 2.3.3 (effeminacy), 2.3.1 (divinity) and 2.2.1 (denial of Dionysus' divinity in the exhortations by Deriades).

96 After his appearance in the opening scene of book 29 (1–14), exhorting his troops, Deriades

in this context. Its *raison d'être* is its function as a structural counterpart for the second, more essential exhortation. Agosti (2004, 292), on the other hand, emphasizes the epigrammatic character of the short speech and refers to Collart (1913, 136), who had discussed it as an example of a short, independent erotic epigram integrated into the story of the *Dionysiaca*.[97] Common to both interpretations is the reluctance to interpret this speech at face value as an exhortation. It is worthwhile to take a closer look at this short but interesting speech (29.39–44):

Πέμπε βέλος, φίλε κοῦρε, καὶ οὐκέτι μαίνεται Ἄρης·
κάλλεϊ Βάκχον ἔβαλλες ὀιστευτῆρα Γιγάντων,
βάλλε τεοῖς βελέεσσι καὶ ἄφρονα Δηριαδῆα,
δυσμενέων βασιλῆα θεημάχον, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
'Ἀμφοτέρων ἐτύχησε βαλὼν Ὑμέναιος ὀιστῷ,
εἰς χρόα Δηριάδαο καὶ ἐς κραδίην Διονύσου'.

Shoot your shot, dear boy, and Ares will cease to rage! Your beauty was the shot which hit Bacchos, whose arrows bring down the Giants. Shoot Deriades also with your shots, that foolish king of our enemies, that enemy of God; that men may say, 'Hymenaios hit two marks with one arrow, the body of Deriades and the heart of Dionysos!'

On the one hand, the speech to Hymenaeus does indeed serve as a structural pendant for the speech to Melaneus. Both are exhortations to kill the enemy's leader with an arrow (41: βάλλε τεοῖς βελέεσσι καὶ ἄφρονα Δηριαδῆα ~ 54: ἀλλὰ βέλος προΐαλλε μινυνθαδίῳ Διονύσῳ). The purpose of this attack is also made explicit in both speeches: the war will be brought to an end (39: καὶ οὐκέτι μαίνεται Ἄρης ~ 62: ἓν δὲ βέλος λύσειεν ὅλον μόθον). This is a remarkable divergence from the Iliadic model, in which the arrow of Pandarus is intended to have the effect of a new starting sign for battle.

On the other hand, the erotic flavour of the first exhortation also markedly distinguishes it from the second exhortation and from the Iliadic model. The exhortation to Hymenaeus not only fulfils its role in the battle narrative as

does indeed not reappear on the battlefield until 30.13. Apart from this exhortation urging Hymenaeus to shoot the Indian king, Deriades' presence, however, is also suggested in 29.304–310, a speech by Dionysus in which he challenges Deriades to a duel (see also above under 2.2.1).

97 On the epigrammatic character of this speech and similar examples see also under 3.1.3.

part of a pair of parallel exhortations but also in the love story that is simultaneously developed. The love story of Dionysus and Hymenaeus is clearly written as the counterpart of the Ampelus-narrative (books 10–12), and has numerous parallels echoing the earlier episode: Dionysus twice falls in love with a handsome young boy (10.175–192 ~ 29.15–21) who is unfortunately mortal (11.325–327 ~ 29.32–33) but more important to Dionysus than anything, including his Olympic mission (11.308 ~ 29.130–133). They are portrayed as inseparable lovers (10.322–11.55 ~ 29.15–48) but live under the threat of an imminent danger (11.71–80 ~ 29.34–37).[98] Therefore, the explicit comparison made in Dionysus' second speech (after Hymenaeus' injury) between Hymenaeus and Ampelus (29.108) only emphatically confirms what the attentive reader will have already discovered by this point. The parallel culminates in the triumphant healing of Hymenaeus (29.151–163), echoing Ampelus' resurrection as the vine (12.117–291).

The story of Hymenaeus, however, is a mere anecdote compared to the Ampelus episode. It is far less elaborated upon (1,345 lines versus only 164 lines) and cannot have the same central position in the narrative of Dionysus as the story of Ampelus, which defines Dionysus as the god of Wine.[99] Notwithstanding this difference in scale, the narrative structure of the two stories shows some similarities, which can also be seen in the use of the speeches. Whereas the lament of Dionysus in 29.108–150 echoes the laments for the dead Ampelus in book 11 (255–312 and 315–350), the battle exhortation to Hymenaeus is similar in its clever word play to the exhortation to Ampelus in 11.7–42 encouraging him in a swimming race. In both cases, an exhortation (in a context of sport / in a context of war) is used metaphorically to convey a message of erotic submission on the part of the speaker to the addressee.[100]

98 An overview of the most important parallels is also given by Francis Vian (1990, 204) and Harries 1994, 71.

99 See also Harries 1994, 71: "But even the explicit comparison with Ampelus in 108 cannot make the Hymenaeus narrative anything but a pale reflection of its model in the earlier book." According to him, the battlefield context and Iliadic reminiscences of the Hymenaeus episode limit the possibilities for developing the bucolic story of the "dying youth" (Hymenaeus and Ampelus as the Bacchic equivalents of Daphnis and Adonis) in its "full sensuousness" and thus also explain the "reduced scale of the Hymenaeus episode". For me it is exactly this surprising mix of traditional epic elements (Agamemnon-Menelaos-Pandaros) and erotic/bucolic elements that makes the Hymenaeus episode—short as it is—so interesting.

100 Compare esp. 11.14–16: ἐν χθονὶ νικήσας καὶ ἐν ὕδασι, καὶ μετὰ νίκην | σοὺς ἐρατοὺς πλοκάμους διδύμοις στέψαιμι κορύμβοις | διπλόα νικηθέντος ἀνικήτοιο Λυαίου. "If you win both by land

The image of one arrow, metaphorically hitting two people simultaneously (29.43), moreover, plays a structural role in the Hymenaeus episode. The beginning and the end of the episode are marked by the use of this same metaphor—a discreet form of circular composition. The meaning of the metaphor, however, has shifted, as a sign of the developments in the narrative in between the two occurrences. At first, Dionysus explains that his heart will be hit by the metaphorical arrows of Hymenaeus' beauty, when Hymenaeus simultaneously slays Deriades with his actual arrows. In 29.149–150 (ἐν κραδίῃ δὲ | λοίγιον ἕλκος ἔχοντι συνουτήθην Ὑμεναίῳ) Dionysus' heart is metaphorically hit by the same arrow that has also hit and wounded Hymenaeus. The arrows of Hymenaeus no longer hit Dionysus with love, but the arrow of Melaneus has hit him with pain because of his compassionate love.

2.5 Epic and Rhetorical Conventions

To conclude this discussion of battle exhortations, I would like to connect the observations made in this chapter with the broader issue of how direct speech functions in the *Dionysiaca* and how Nonnus uses his epic inheritance in the creation of a new epic style. Two main points can be made in this respect.

First, as became apparent both in the general overview of the 26 battle exhortations in the *Dionysiaca* (2.2) and in the discussion of the exhortative topoi (2.3), Nonnus is indebted to several traditions for his composition and use of battle exhortations. He overtly imitates Homer, as is especially clear in two of the passages discussed in detail: the deceptive vision sent to Ares by Rhea (2.4.3.1) and the adaptation of Homer's Pandarus episode (2.4.4). Regarding the aspects in which Nonnus' exhortations manifestly differ from Homer's (length and rhetorical elaboration, position, emphasis on the general's own actions and qualities, etc.), they show a certain congeniality with the exhortations in the historiographical tradition. It is, however, not possible to prove a direct influence of, for example, Thucydides in Nonnus. The similarities rather point in the direction of rhetorical training as a common source of influence, although many centuries apart. Since, in the rhetorical curriculum at school, both the

and water, I will crown your lovely hair with a double garland for two victories over Dionysos the unconquerable." Ampelus' victory in the sporting contests is eroticized, just as Hymenaeus' role as an archer in Dionysus' army is given erotic connotations in this passage. See also Vian 1990, 334: "L'intervention d'une divinité qui donne force et ardeur à son protégé est banale dans l'épopée […] Chez Nonnos, Dionysos, qui n'est pas encore un dieu à part entière, ne se manifeste ainsi qu'en qualité d'éraste (10,417; 29,21)."

speeches of Homer and of Thucydides were read as examples for imitation, we can assume a certain level of interaction between the epic, historiographical and rhetorical traditions in Nonnus' time. The epic poems of both Nonnus and Lucan—who in certain aspects could be seen as Nonnus' rhetorical counterpart in the Latin tradition—clearly show the influence of the rhetorical and literary education of their authors. In order to shed more light on this issue, further research is needed. It would, for example, be interesting to be able to compare Nonnus' exhortations with a broader comparative corpus of (contemporary) historiographical authors.

Important hereby is that, notwithstanding his clear debts to multiple traditions, Nonnus has also, in a certain way, created his own typology of battle exhortations. A number of recurring elements and topoi can be discerned that are typically "Nonnian". Nonnus never blatantly repeats himself, but constantly varies on the same themes and thus creates subtle echoes between speeches throughout his work, although embedded in entirely different contexts. In this way, the strange weaponry of Typhon in his exhortation in book 2, for example, subtly introduces a theme that will only become important from book 14 onwards, when Dionysus for the first time raises his thyrsus in battle. The occurrence of opposing pairs of exhortations at significant moments in the narrative of the Indian War, on the other hand, is a sign of Nonnus' conscious deployment of the battle exhortation as a structural—or rather *structuring*—element in his battle narratives.

Secondly, the examples in which Nonnus inverts (2.4.3) and parodies (2.4.1 and 2) the genre of the battle exhortation, or gives it a pronouncedly erotic flavour (2.4.4), clearly show Nonnus as a poet who is very well aware of the conventions regarding this type of speech and consequently able to creatively invert, exaggerate and adapt traditional material. He consciously plays on the expectations of his readers, who in order to be able to recognize and enjoy the wit and humour of his adaptations, must share the same knowledge of rhetorical and generic conventions. The examples of Typhon's, Pentheus' and Lycurgus' characterization (2.4.1 and 2) as spurious generals are remarkable examples of characterization through speech. Their character is revealed in their inappropriate use of a general's exhortation. The witty inversions discussed in 2.4.3 and the erotic flavour of the exhortation in 2.4.4, on the other hand, add a light and humorous note to the context of war.

CHAPTER 3

Speeches within Speeches

Speeches introduced on the second level of the narration, embedded within other speeches, have thus far not been given any attention. This chapter, by focusing on speeches *within* speeches, will correct this imbalance. "Embedded speech" or "reported speech" is a frequently occurring phenomenon in both Nonnus and Homer, whereas it is very rare in Apollonius and Quintus. Is Nonnus the more Homeric one this time? I will try to give a nuanced answer to that question.

When discussing speeches embedded in speeches, it is important to make the distinction between real and hypothetical ones. In more general discussions about the use of direct speech in narrative texts, this essential distinction is often overlooked because, except in some exceptional cases (see 3.1.1.2 and 3.2.3 below), hypothetical speeches do not occur on the first level of the narration. Real speeches are those speeches that within the (fictional) world of the story, are supposed to have actually been uttered. The narrator supposedly knows what the heroes and heroines have actually said, and simply quotes their words. Secondary narrators (characters telling a story) are in this respect not different from primary narrators.

Hypothetical speeches, on the other hand, are not supposed to have ever been uttered. Irene de Jong describes them as cases in which "a speaking character only pretends to quote somebody else's words, but, in fact, invents them" (1987a, 176).[1] De Jong gives the example of Hector's speech to Patroclus (*Il.* 16.830–842), in which Hector imagines the words Achilles may have said to Patroclus earlier on (*Il.* 16.839–841). He does not pretend to know what Patroclus has said, but merely suggests a possibility.[2]

1 See also Bers (1997) on reported speech in genres other than epic, esp. 96–97 (on tragedy) and 214–217 (on the Attic orators). Regarding what I call hypothetical speech, he notes (1997, 7): " 'Reported' speech is not, even in the world of our 'nonfiction' texts, always language that has, even approximately, been uttered. But hypothetical and explicitly contrafactual speech merits stylistic analysis." He illustrates this with an example from Demosthenes (Dem. *Or.* 7.20: Demosthenes wonders why a certain question was never asked).

2 This speech by Hector, in fact, contains two hypothetical embedded speeches, which may be interpreted as a dialogue between Patroclus and Achilles, imagined by Hector. The first part (Patroclus speaking to Achilles or the Greek assembly) is in indirect speech (830–832), the second part (Achilles speaking to Patroclus) in direct speech (839–841).

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In this chapter, my primary focus is on the phenomenon of the hypothetical speeches in Nonnus. In most cases, the secondary focalizer (speaking character of the first speech in which our second speech is embedded) uses hypothetical speech to anticipate the possible reaction of another character.

The reported speeches of the first category ("real" speeches) are not discussed in detail in this chapter because they are not so very different in form or content from the speeches introduced on the level of the main narrator. Within the epic tradition, the *Odyssey* is probably the most interesting case study in this respect. In no other epic poem does "real" reported speech occur with such a high frequency. The long narrative speeches by Odysseus in *Od.* 9–12 include no less than 87 embedded speeches. In the *Dionysiaca*, there are only six, much shorter narrative speeches in which the secondary narrator uses direct speech to convey the words spoken by the characters in his story. They are listed below. As you can see, there is a total of thirteen reported speeches of this "real" type in Nonnus. They vary in length between one and 69 lines, which results in an average of 21 lines/speech. There is only one small dialogue (between dogs and a mountain, consisting of two speeches); all the other embedded speeches of this type are either monologues or soliloquies.

(1) The story of Actaeon, narrated by his ghost (5.415–531), contains three short speeches, by his dogs (1: 5.459–460), the mountain (2: 5.462–466) and Artemis (3: 5.469–472) respectively.
(2) The story of Calamus and Carpus, narrated by Eros (11.356–481), contains two θρῆνοι by Calamus after Carpus' death: 4: 11.431–463 and 5: 11.468–477.
(3) The θρῆνος of the cow (15.399–416), lamenting the death of Hymnus, contains a small narrative part with a one-line embedded speech by a pine (6: 15.406).
(4) The song of Leucus (rendered by the narrator in indirect speech, 24.230–329) tells the story of Aphrodite's "new hobby" at the loom and contains two speeches, one by Athena (7: 24.279–291) and one by Hermes (8: 24.297–320).
(5) The story of Phaeton, narrated by Hermes (38.105–434), contains two speeches by Helius (9: 38.196–211 and 10: 38.222–290) and one by Phosphorus (11: 38.333–346).
(6) The story of the foundation of Tyre, narrated by Heracles Astrochiton (40.429–573), contains two speeches, one by Heracles Astrochiton himself (12: 40.443–500) and one by Eros (13: 40.542–569).

The hypothetical reported speeches, on the other hand, form a much larger and more heterogeneous group. I have counted no less than 36 examples in

the *Dionysiaca*. The first to note the exceptionally frequent occurrence of "such short speeches within speeches" in Nonnus was George Wicker Elderkin in 1906 (10–11), without however defining their characteristics. No other scholar since has followed in his footsteps. Elderkin counts 35 examples in Nonnus.[3] In his brief discussion of the phenomenon, he gives a few examples of often used introductory formulas and concludes that Nonnus is the only Greek epic poet to have inherited the Homeric habit "of introducing brief speeches within speeches with such phrases as καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσιν" (Elderkin 1906, 11). Nonnus, moreover, not merely inherited the habit, but apparently also surpassed Homer in its frequent use, which Elderkin (1906, 11) judges rather negatively: "The impression, however, which they produce in Nonnus is one of monotony. They are too frequently employed."

This introductory formula καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσιν (*Il.* 6.459), quoted by Elderkin, in fact refers to a specific type of hypothetical speech, that in more recent scholarship on Homer has been defined as "potential τις-speech". De Jong finds eight examples in the *Iliad* (1987b) and two in the *Odyssey* (2001, 166 and 519). Developed for the first time in Homer, this specific type of speech also occurs in other genres, especially in classical tragedy (see Wilson 1979). It seems, however, to have disappeared in the later Greek epic tradition (one in Apollonius, none in Quintus) but reappears in Nonnus (14 examples). The first and largest part of this chapter (3.1) is a case study of the use of potential τις-speech in Nonnus, with attention to the similarities and differences in comparison to Homer. The remaining 22 "hypothetical" speeches in Nonnus, a much more heterogeneous group of embedded speeches, are briefly discussed in the second part of this chapter (3.2).

3.1 Potential τις-Speech in Nonnus: A Homeric Device Revived

Although the focus of this book is, of course, on Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, it is helpful to start this section on potential τις-speech with an example from Nonnus' *Paraphrase*. We will look at *Paraphrase* 5.163–168, corresponding with the Gospel text of *John* 5.43. This line of the Gospel is part of a longer speech of

3 It is not entirely clear exactly which speeches Elderkin counts. In the case of Nonnus, he seems to have left the "real" speeches out of his calculations, although the examples he gives for the other Greek epic poets (Homer, Apollonius and Quintus) in the same paragraph do encompass "real" reported speech. The introduction formulas mentioned by Elderkin in any case refer to examples of hypothetical speech.

Jesus to the Jews who refuse to believe his testimony. In the Gospel text a sober antithesis of two short sentences is used to emphasize a sharp contrast:

> *John.* 5.43
> ἐγὼ ἐλήλυθα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ οὐ λαμβάνετέ με· ἐὰν ἄλλος ἔλθῃ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἰδίῳ, ἐκεῖνον λήμψεσθε.
>
> I have come in my Father's name, and you do not accept me; if another comes in his own name, you will accept him.
>
> transl. COOGAN 2001[3]

It is interesting to see how Nonnus in his *Paraphrase* elaborates on this paradox. His equivalent is six lines long and his additions are mostly explanatory (*marked in italic*), but there is also a remarkable difference in regard to content (***bold italic***). Nonnus seems to interpret the Gospel's reference to the "other" as to a false prophet or even to the antichrist of the Apocalypse.[4] The concluding addition (**bold**) is, however, more important for my approach, as it is possible to recognize it as a potential τις-speech, very similar to the examples of this type of speech in Homer. Extra emphasis is given to the initial paradox by repeating the central antithesis as a clever one-liner that is put in the mouth of an anonymous speaker τις, in the form of a potential future comment by an attentive observer. Its function in the *Paraphrase* is that of a rhetorical or a stylistic addition, adding effect without actually adding content.

> 1. *Par.* 5.163–168
> ἦλθον ἐγὼ βοόων πατρώιον οὔνομα *κόσμῳ*,
> καὶ θεὸν οὔ με δέχεσθε καὶ οὐ πείθεσθε τοκῆι·
> εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος ἵκοιτο ***νόθος ψευδώνυμος ἀνήρ***
> ***ἀντίθεος***, τότε κεῖνον *ἀνάρσιον ἠπεροπῆα*
> *αὐτίκα* μειλίσσεσθε *τεθηπότες*, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
> **'γνήσιον ἠρνήσαντο, νόθον δ' ἐδέχοντο φανέντα·'**
>
> I have come, announcing to the world my father's name, and you do not welcome me as a god and you do not have faith in my father. Should another one come, a false man with a deceptive name, hostile to God,

4 A full discussion of this interpretation can be found in Agosti's (2003) comprehensive commentary on Nonnus' *Paraphrase* 5.

> then you will immediately subdue yourself in awe towards this malicious deceiver, so that one may say: 'They rejected the legitimate one and accepted the false one when he made his appearance'.
>
> My translation

In Gianfranco Agosti's commentary on this passage (2003, 533), the formula ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ is explained as an introductory formula used in Nonnus to introduce "epigrammatic aphorisms, based on an antithesis"[5]. He refers to the study of Joseph Golega (1930) on the *Paraphrase*, in which several examples are given of Nonnus' "Vorliebe für Oxymora". Golega mentions two examples of the formula ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ in the *Paraphrase* and gives no less than twelve parallels in the *Dionysiaca*.[6] On the epigrammatic character of the one-liner, Agosti also refers to an article by Paul Collart, "Nonnos épigrammatiste" on Nonnus' tendency to insert epigram-like short poems in his epic *Dionysiaca* (Collart 1930, 133): "Jamais le Panopolitain n'a perdu une occasion de glisser une épigramme."[7]

Agosti, however, does not mention the parallel for this type of embedded speech that is taken as starting point in this chapter, namely Homeric potential τις-speech (introduced by ὄφρά τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσιν (*Il.* 7.300), καί κέ τις ὧδ' ἐρέει (*Il.* 4.176) and other variants). In Irene de Jong's and René Nünlist's "Homerische Poetik in Stichwörtern", τις-speech is defined as the direct speech of an unidentified speaker (τις), as an expression of the communis opinio. A distinction is made between two types, (1) actual τις-speeches and (2) potential τις-speeches,

5 Agosti 2003, 533: "una formula introduttiva a sentenze epigrammatiche basate sull'antitesi." See also Agosti 2003, 121: "Nel suo programma ideologico e poetico di autonoma ricreazione stilistica del Vangelo giovanneo, Nonno si è dedicato con particolare attenzione a valorizzare uno degli elementi base del linguaggio cristiano, la retorica del paradosso."

6 Golega 1930, 61: "Beiden Gedichten [i.e. *Dionysiaca* and *Paraphrase*] gemeinsam ist die Einleitung eines antithetisch gebildeten Satzes durch ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ." Golega refers to two examples of the formula in the *Paraphrase* (5.165 and 12.43), ten examples in the *Dionysiaca* (2.301, 8.249, 15.285, 15.346, 29.43, 30.184, 33.261, 46.174, 48.549 and 48.747) and two more in the *Dionysiaca* which he regards as "ähnlich" (39.142 and 47.451).

7 Collart 1913, 133 continues as follows: "On pourrait enrichir tous les livres de l'Anthologie Palatine en glanant dans les *Dionysiaques*" and 1913, 141: "Son penchant pour l'épigramme est même si vif qu'il ne recule ni devant une invraisemblance, ni devant une faute de goût pour en insérer une dans son récit." For a more recent study of the epigrams in Nonnus see Montes Cala 2009 and Lasek 2009, 71–106. See also Vian in a note to one of the instances of the formula ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ in the *Dionysiaca* (at 30.184; 1997, 123): "tour habituel pour introduire une 'épigramme'" and Agosti (at 29.42–44; 2004, 292): "Nonno ama inserire piccoli pezzi di stile epigrammatico, spesso in chiusa di un discorso."

imagined by characters to be the future reaction of others (tertiary focalization).[8] All 14 examples mentioned by Golega seem to answer to the definition of potential τις-speech. With slightly different formulas, even a few more examples can be found.[9]

Notwithstanding the clear parallels, only in two cases do the commentaries in the Italian and French editions of the *Dionysiaca* briefly refer to a Homeric parallel, without mentioning, however, that it is an example of a recurring and well-defined type of reported speech in Homer.[10] Until very recently, they have, to my knowledge, never been regarded as potential τις-speeches. Contemporaneous with my own work on this subject, some attention to the occurrence of potential τις-speech in Nonnus is also paid by Camille Geisz in her (as yet unpublished) doctoral dissertation.[11]

The belated "identification" of this type of reported speech in Nonnus can probably be explained through the fact that potential τις-speech is mostly understood as a typical feature of Homeric poetry alone. The extensive use of τις-speech in Hector's speeches characterizes him as a hero much concerned about future comments on his deeds,[12] but apart from Homer and his representation of Hector, it is regarded a marginal phenomenon. John Wilson's article

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8 De Jong and Nünlist 2000, 170: "Tis-Rede: Direkte Rede einer nicht mit Namen identifizierten Figur (τις), oft als Ausdruck dessen, 'was die Allgemeinheit meint'. Zu unterscheiden sind tatsächlich gehaltene Tis-Reden (z.B. [*Il.*] 2.272–277) und von anderen Figuren imaginierte (= tertiär fokalisierte) Tis-Reden (z.B. [*Il.*] 7.89 f.). Letztere sagen v.a. etwas über die imaginierende Figur aus." See also: de Jong 1987b, 69: "tis-speeches, i.e., speeches formally marked by introductory and capping formulas containing the word τις […]. Within this total of 17 [tis-speeches in the *Iliad*] we can differentiate between 9 'actual' tis-speeches, those occurring in the narrator-text and 8 'potential' tis-speeches, those occurring in a character-text, as a speech within a speech" and Wilson 1979, 1: "Nothing is more characteristic of the Homeric respect for public opinion than those speeches within speeches that project what people might say after a given turn of events."

9 For a full list, see below or consult the online database.

10 Agosti 2004, 292 (on *D.* 29.42–44): "Inoltre questo epigramma galante è un po' il lezioso corrispettivo dell'amara *gnome* che Agamennone si aspetta che qualcuno pronunci calpestando la tomba di Menelao (*Il.* 4.177–181)" and Accorinti 2004, 280 (on *D.* 42.471–474): "Per l'espressione 'ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ' cfr. Hom., *Il.* 7.300, 12.317."

11 Geisz 2013, 175–179. She approaches the subject from a different perspective in her research on the role of the narrator in the *Dionysiaca*. Her point of departure is the one instance of ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ occurring in narrator text (48.747–748), which she analyses as a form of narratorial intervention. She also makes the connection with the examples in Homer and refers to de Jong 1987b and Wilson 1979.

12 De Jong 1987b, 76–80, esp. n. 34.

"ΚΑΙ ΚΕ ΤΙΣ ΩΔ' ΕΡΕΕΙ: An Homeric Device in Greek Literature" is an exception in this respect and provides an overview of the presence of potential τις-speech in later Greek literature. Most occurrences are found in classical Greek tragedy, which is explained by Wilson by emphasizing the "dramatic nature" of this "device".[13]

Interestingly, notwithstanding its marked presence in the Homeric epics, potential τις-speech is almost entirely absent from the epic tradition after Homer and before Nonnus. Only one example can be found in Apollonius of Rhodes.[14] It is not clear whether Wilson also searched for examples in poets as late as Quintus of Smyrna, but based on my own data on the *Posthomerica*, I can confirm that this Homeric epic par excellence also does not seem to contain any potential τις-speeches. The type of speech defined in scholarship on Homer as "actual τις-speeches" (speeches by anonymous speakers inserted on the first level of the narration), on the other hand, is found in both Apollonius and Quintus, and Nonnus too has a large number of anonymous speaking characters. I will return to the connection between "potential" and "actual" τις-speech in chapter 5.1, when discussing the latter group.

What I primarily want to argue here is that analysing the examples in Nonnus which are introduced by ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ or similar formulas as potential τις-speech, and thus in connection with the Homeric tradition, enriches our understanding of these short but (stylistically and argumentatively) interesting passages. In the first part of what follows (3.1.1), I will define potential τις-speech in Nonnus and argue why certain variants should also be taken into account. I also want to compare and contrast Nonnus' use of the device with its use in Homer. In the second part (3.1.2) I will do this by investigating the ways in which Nonnus' potential τις-speeches relate to the Homeric and wider literary tradition. The third part (3.1.3) further highlights the particularities of Nonnian τις-speech compared to Homer.

13 Wilson (1979) gives examples from Hegemon, Semonides, Solon, Herodotus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes, but the majority of his examples are from Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. 1979, 5: "Proportionally, tragedy contains as many instances of projected opinion as Homeric epic itself. This is partly due to the inherently dramatic nature of the device, which is always thought of as a speech within a speech."

14 *Argon.* 3.793–797 in one of Medea's monologues of doubts (whether or not to help Jason). See also Wilson 1979, 13 and below under 3.1.2.1.

3.1.1 *Defining Potential τις-Speech in Nonnus*

Before turning to the analysis and interpretation of potential τις-speech in Nonnus, it is important to reconsider the definition given by de Jong and Nünlist, which is based on the Homeric practice and does not deal with certain variants that can be found in Nonnus.

3.1.1.1 Direct and Indirect τις-Speech

The first problem for using de Jong and Nünlist's definition on Nonnus is that potential τις-speech is explicitly defined as direct speech.[15] In Nonnus, however, there are also six cases of an indirect variant with ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ ὅτι (and variants).[16] The small formal difference is the only characteristic that distinguishes these examples from the direct (and thus "genuine") potential τις-speeches in Nonnus. Since ὅτι is also known to be used quite often pleonastically to introduce direct quotation, the grammatical distinction between the two types is very subtle.[17]

The functional equivalence of both types in Nonnus is most convincingly shown in the following examples of direct and indirect potential τις-speeches that can be seen as each other's counterparts.

2. *D.* 7.360–361

Καί ποτέ τις λέξειεν, ὅτι Κρονίδης πόρε τιμὴν
νερτερίῳ Μίνωι καὶ οὐρανίῳ Διονύσῳ.

People will say in the future, Zeus gave honour to Minos in the underworld, and to Dionysos in the heavens!

3. *D.* 8.89–90

αἰδέομαι πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὅταν μερόπων τις ἐνίψῃ·
'Ζεὺς πόρε δῆριν Ἄρηι καὶ εὐφροσύνην Διονύσῳ.'

But I am ashamed myself far more, when some mortal man shall say: 'Zeus granted battles to Ares, and merry-hearted cheer to Dionysos.'

---

15 De Jong and Nünlist 2000, 170: "Tis-Rede: Direkte Rede einer nicht mit Namen identifizierten Figur (τις)".

16 Namely: 7.360–361 (example 2), 20.316–318, 20.365–368 (ex. 13), 28.147–149 (ex. 4), 42.471–474 (ex. 9) and 48.26–30.

17 Liddell and Scott 1996^{9}, 1265 under the lemma ὅτι: "ὅτι is freq. inserted pleon. in introducing a quotation (where we use no conj. and put inverted commas)".

These two examples are very similar in content and wording. In both examples, Zeus gives honour in two different ways to two of his sons. Example 2, where we have the indirect construction, is inserted in the speech of Zeus to Semele (7.352–368) to announce the birth of Dionysus and his future glory. Example 3 is part of the speech of Phthonus (in the guise of Ares) to Hera (8.50–102) to rouse her against Dionysus. Whereas the hypothetical comment of the anonymous speaker is seen as something positive by Zeus in example 2, it is seen as something negative by Phthonus in example 3, who successfully uses the potential τις-speech to arouse Hera's envy (φθόνος).[18]

Also in examples 4 and 5 the indirect and direct variants are very much alike:

4. *D.* 28.147–149
Τοῦτό μοι ἠνορέης ἔτι λείψανον, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ
εὖχος Ἀθηναίων περιδέξιον, ὅττι καὶ αὐτοῖς
ποσσὶν ἀριστεύουσι δαϊζομένων παλαμάων.

So much remains for my valour! Then all may tell a double-handed glory for Athens, how her sons are heroes when their hands are cut off and they have nothing but feet!

5. *D.* 21.39–40
εἰς σὲ καὶ ἀμπελόεσσα κορύσσομαι, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
'Βασσαρίδες κτείνουσι καὶ ἐν πετάλοισι φονῆας.'

I will attack you although a vine, that people may say—'Bassarids kill murderers, even when they are part of the world of leaves!'

In both examples, a warrior in Dionysus' army imagines that he/she is being praised for his/her heroic deeds in difficult circumstances. The soldier in the example with indirect speech (ex. 4) has lost both his arms but continues fighting with his legs. The Bacchante in the example with direct speech (ex. 5) has metamorphosed into a vine but still defeats Lycurgus, by capturing him in her branches.

Because of the striking similarity between the examples from both categories, it would seem absurd to exclude the indirect variants from a study of potential τις-speech in Nonnus, although, of course, the formal distinction has to be made. One could even argue for recognizing an indirect variant of poten-

18 For an analysis of Phthonus' speech to Hera, see also 4.3.1.

tial τις-speech in Homer as well, based on the following examples from the *Odyssey*, in which several characteristics of potential τις-speech can be recognized.[19] In both cases there is an anonymous τις, a verb of speaking and a construction of indirect speech in the infinitive.

> *Od.* 19.121–122
> μή τίς μοι δμῳῶν νεμεσήσεται ἠὲ σύ γ' αὐτή,
> φῇ δὲ δάκρυπλώειν βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνῳ.
>
> I do not wish one of your maids or your own self to be vexed with me, and say that I swim in tears because my mind is heavy with wine.
> transl. MURRAY 1995[2]

> *Od.* 23.135–136
> ὥς κέν τις φαίη γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἀκούων,
> ἢ ἀν' ὁδὸν στείχων ἢ οἳ περιναιετάουσι·
>
> That any man who hears the sound from without, whether a passerby or one of those who dwell around, may say that it is a wedding feast.
> transl. MURRAY 1995[2]

The introduction formula in the second example ὥς κέν τις φαίη closely resembles the introduction formulas used for direct potential τις-speech in Homer, but is followed by an infinitive clause. In the narrative of the *Odyssey*, it is, moreover, followed very soon afterwards by an actual τις-speech of a passer-by expressing the exact same thoughts (*Od.* 23.149–151). The first example from the *Odyssey* is more doubtful. It also differs from other potential τις-speeches in that the hypothetical speaker is suggested to be either one of the servants or Penelope herself, who is the addressee of the speech in which the hypothetical speech is embedded.

19 Wilson 1979, 7 cites the example from *Od.* 23 without noting the indirect character of the embedded speech. Earlier-on in the same article (1979, 5 n. 20) he also suggests that Eur., *Bacch.* 204–205 (ἐρεῖ τις ὡς τὸ γῆρας οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι, | μέλλων χορεύειν κρᾶτα κισσώσας ἐμόν;) “could pass for an indirect tis-Rede”. The two examples from the *Odyssey* also occur in Schneider 1996, 15 as “indirekte hypotethische τις-Reden mit infinitiv bzw. AcI.”

3.1.1.2 A Special Case: Potential τις-Speech in Narrator Text with Secondary Focalization

The second problematical aspect concerns the fact that potential τις-speeches are defined by both de Jong and Wilson as speeches within speeches.[20] As all potential τις-speeches in Homer are found in character text, this is commonly regarded a general rule.[21] Nonnus, however, provides us with two examples that do not follow this rule. In book 48 of the *Dionysiaca*, Aura imagines that someone will comment on her behaviour as the murderess of her own children. A potential τις-speech is inserted.

6. *D*. 48.741–748
Πολλάκι δ' οἰδαλέοιο γυναικείου διὰ κόλπου
αὐτοφόνος ***μενέαινεν*** ἑκούσιον ἆορ ἐλάσσαι,
ὄφρα κεν αὐτοδάικτος ὀνείδεα γαστρὸς ἀλύξῃ
καὶ στόμα τερπομένης φιλοκέρτομον Ἰοχεαίρης.
Καὶ νοέειν ***μενέαινεν*** ἑὸν πόσιν, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὴ
υἱέα δαιτρεύσειεν ἀναινομένῳ παρακοίτῃ,
αὐτὴ παιδοφόνος καὶ ὁμευνέτις, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
Πρόκνη παιδολέτειρα νέη πέλε δύσγαμος Αὔρη.

Often she thought to drive a sword willingly through the swelling womb and slay herself with her own hand, that self-slain she might escape the shame of her womb and the mocking taunts of glad Artemis. She longed to know her husband, that she might dish up her own son to her loathing husband, childslayer and paramour alike, that men might say—'Aura, unhappy bride, has killed her child like another Procne.'

Although the potential τις-speech is inserted in narrator text in this example, we still can speak of "tertiary focalization", as there is secondary focalization by Aura in the narrator text surrounding the τις-speech. We follow her thoughts and wishes (2× μενέαινεν) and, just like the first purposive ὄφρα-clause, the second (ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ) also expresses Aura's own hopes.[22]

20 De Jong 1987, 69: "and 8 'potential' tis-speeches, those occurring in a character-text, as a speech within a speech" and Wilson 1979, 1: "those speeches within speeches that project what people might say after a given turn of events."

21 The definition of potential τις-speech in de Jong and Nünlist does not, however, explicitly state that potential τις-speeches are always embedded in speeches (merely that they are "imagined" by another character with "tertiary focalization"). De Jong and Nünlist 2000, 170: "von anderen Figuren imaginierte (= tertiär fokalisierte) Tis-Reden."

22 In her discussion of this passage, Geisz 2013, 175–176 leaves room for an interpretation

The second example is drawn from Nonnus' *Paraphrase*.[23]

7. *Par.* 12.42–47
*καὶ φθονεροὶ **μενέαινον** ἀναιδέες ἀρχιερῆες*
καὶ ζαμενὴς Φαρισαῖος ὅλος χορός, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτόν
Λάζαρον ἀχλυόεντι πάλιν πέμψωσι βερέθρῳ
νόστιμον ἐκ νεκύων ἑτέρῳ κτείνοντες ὀλέθρῳ,
πότμον ἔτι πνείοντα παλαίτερον, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
Λάζαρος οἶτον ἄλυξε, καὶ οὐ φύγεν ἀρχιερῆας.

Both the shameless and envious high priests and the entire mighty group of Pharisees desired eagerly to send Lazarus himself back to his dark grave, killing him with a second death after his return from the dead, while he still breathes out the smell of his earlier death, that a man might say: 'Lazarus managed to flee death but could not escape the high priests'.

My translation

Here, the Jewish ἀρχιερῆες are the secondary focalizer. Again, the verb μενέαινον is an indication of secondary focalization. To my knowledge, this construction of potential τις-speech in narrator text is unique to these two examples.[24]

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in which Aura is not focalizing the surrounding text: "The conjunction ὄφρα, 'that, in order that', makes it ambiguous whether the aim, i.e. the cause of Aura's action, should be attributed to the character. It could mean that she is aware of the fact that such an action would make her comparable to Procne, and therefore acts with this very purpose, namely to cause her entourage to establish the parallel; but it might simply indicate that she acted in such a way that it is now possible for those who come to know about it to utter these words. In that latter case, the parallel is created by the narrator only and not by the character; in other words the parallel exists on the level of the enunciation only."

23 The model for this passage in the Gospel text is, again, much elaborated upon by Nonnus. *John* 12.10: ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἀποκτείνωσιν "So the chief priests made plans to kill Lazarus as well" (transl. Coogan 2001[3]). From line 12.43 on, Nonnus no longer follows the Gospel, but elaborates on the paradoxical situation of putting someone to death who has only just escaped death. The first subordinate clause, introduced by ὄφρα in a certain way prepares for the second ὄφρα-clause, which introduces the potential τις-speech.

24 It is remarkable that, apart from the obvious structural similarity, there are also textual echoes (μενέαινεν ~ μενέαινον, and ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὴ ~ ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὸν) which can be discerned between these two passages, which are moreover similar in content. In both cases the secondary focalizer is devising a plan to kill someone and envisages the reaction of an anonymous other after this plan is executed. Therefore, it seems possible to me that

Thus, if all examples of potential τις-speech are counted, both direct and indirect variants, and including the two examples embedded in narrator text, the *Dionysiaca* contains 21 potential τις-speeches (among which six indirect and one in narrator text) and the *Paraphrase* an additional two (one in narrator text, one in character text).[25] Such a frequent use of this "Homeric device" (Wilson 1979) is unprecedented. Nonnus uses it even more than Homer. The indirect examples and the examples in narrator text are, of course, not examples of embedded direct speech. Therefore only the 14 examples of direct potential τις-speech in character text are counted in the total of 36 hypothetical speeches within speeches mentioned earlier.[26]

3.1.2 *Nonnus' Potential τις-Speech and the Literary Tradition*

In the conclusion of the previous paragraph, I have followed Wilson in calling potential τις-speech a "Homeric device". One might, however, wonder to which extent later authors indeed *felt* the concept of potential τις-speech as a Homeric device. It is an interesting question whether they had specific Homeric passages in mind when using this concept or rather thought about it as a fixed combination of elements of form and content on a more abstract level. When looking at the evidence in Nonnus, the answer seems to be that these two possible modes of composition can perfectly occur together.

3.1.2.1 Direct Imitation

Only one example in the *Dionysiaca* seems to be directly inspired by a specific potential τις-speech in Homer. It is part of one of those episodes in Nonnus that are conceived as an explicit *imitatio cum variatione* of a specific scene in the *Iliad*. Being the first of three θρῆνοι by Indian women after the death of king Deriades, the speech of Protonoe (40.133–157), who has also lost her husband Orontes, is clearly intended as an equivalent of Andromache's lamentations after Hector's death. It combines elements of her speech in *Iliad* 22 (477–514), immediately after his death, and her speech in *Iliad* 24 (725–745), upon the

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Nonnus, whichever of the two poems he wrote first, had the one passage in mind during the writing process of the other. See also Shorrock 2011, 51–78, 84–116 on the problem of the seemingly "mutual intertextuality" of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and *Paraphrase* (see above Introduction p. 2).

25 Geisz counts 15 examples: all occurrences of ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ including the indirect examples with ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ ὅτι but excluding any variants with different introduction formulas.

26 These 14 are: 2.303–304, 8.89–90 (ex. 3), 8.249–250 (ex. 10), 15.285–286 (ex. 18), 15.346–347, 21.39–40 (ex. 5), 29.42–44 (ex. 17), 30.184–185, 33.261–262, 39.142–144 (ex. 11) 39.145–148 (ex. 12), 40.153–157 (ex. 8), 46.174–175 and 48.547–549.

arrival of Hector's dead body in Troy.[27] The potential τις-speech in Protonoe's lament seems, however, to find its inspiration in the other famous episode in which Andromache appears as a speaking character: the conversation between husband and wife in *Iliad* 6. In this episode, Hector imagines what the fate of his wife Andromache will be after the Trojans have lost the war. Protonoe in Nonnus imagines her own fate after the war, now father and husband have both been killed, and predicts how her own misfortune as a slave of Dionysus (cf. *Il.* 6.463: δούλιον ἦμαρ) will be described by an onlooker.

Il. 6.459–463
καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσιν ἰδὼν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσαν·
‘Ἕκτορος ἥδε γυνὴ ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι
Τρώων ἱπποδάμων ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφεμάχοντο.’
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· σοὶ δ’ αὖ νέον ἔσσεται ἄλγος
χήτεϊ τοιοῦδ’ ἀνδρὸς ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἦμαρ.

And someone will say as he looks at you weeping: ‘This is the wife of Hector, who was preeminent in fight above all the horse-taming Trojans when men were fighting around Ilios.’ So will he say; and to you there will be fresh grief in your lack of a man like me to ward off the day of bondage.

transl. MURRAY 1999[2]

8. *D.* 40.153–157
μὴ Τμῶλον ἴδω, μὴ δῶμα Λυαίου,
μὴ ζυγὰ δουλοσύνης βαρυαχθέα, μή τις ἐνίψῃ·
‘κούρη Δηριάδαο δοριθρασέος βασιλῆος
ληιδίη μετὰ δῆριν ὑποδρήσσει Διονύσῳ.’

That I may not see Tmolos, the house of Lyaios or the all-burdensome yoke of slavery; that men may not say—‘The daughter of Deriades the spearbold king, taken captive after the war, is now a servant to Dionysos.’

27 In the sequence of the three laments by Protonoe (40.113–157), Cheirobie (40.167–193) and Orsiboe (40.197–212), all three standing on the walls (40.101: ἐπὶ πύργων) of the Indian city after the death of Deriades, Nonnus combines Homer's three θρῆνοι by Andromache (*Il.* 24.725–745), Hecabe (*Il.* 24.748–759) and Helen (*Il.* 24.762–775), with Andromache's earlier lament (*Il.* 22.477–514) on the city walls of Troy (*Il.* 22.463: ἐπὶ τείχει). See also Simon 1999, 123–126.

The striking similarity of form *and* content confirms that in this particular case Nonnus used a specific Homeric potential τις-speech as a model to write one of his own. Interestingly, the form of the potential τις-speech seems, moreover, to be used by Nonnus to further highlight an already developed parallel between the characters of Protonoe and Andromache. All the more remarkable is that, as demonstrated by Wilson (1979, 7), this particular potential τις-speech in Homer was also imitated in form *and* content by Sophocles (*Aj.* 500–505), who remains even closer to the Iliadic context. It is part of the farewell scene between Aias and his beloved Tecmessa before he commits suicide and leaves her behind.[28]

Within the epic tradition, a very similar combination of imitation of both form and content, also regarding the use of potential τις-speech, can be found in Apollonius of Rhodes. It is possible to argue that the clear parallels that are created throughout book 3 between Medea and the Odyssean Nausicaa, princesses who both decide to help a handsome stranger,[29] are given further prominence by the parallel use of a potential τις-speech. The potential τις-speech in Medea's speech in *Argon.* 3.793–797 is, indeed, remarkably similar in content to that in Nausicaa's speech in *Od.* 6.275–285. Both girls predict the negative reactions of their fellow countrymen if they help the handsome stranger and both use the form of a potential τις-speech to do so.[30] This is all the more apparent because it is the only potential τις-speech in the entire *Argonautica*. Except for this case of direct imitation of Homer, Apollonius never uses the device.

In all three examples (Nonnus, Apollonius and Sophocles), potential τις-speech thus seems to be used as part of an allusion to Homer. The similarity of context and content was probably a trigger to also use the form of the potential τις-speech in these three cases, but simultaneously, the form also supports the parallels in content.

3.1.2.2 Potential τις-Speech in Non-Imitative Contexts

Unlike in Apollonius, however, the use of potential τις-speech in Nonnus is certainly not limited to a purely imitative context. For the remaining 20 potential

28 It is remarkable that in both Sophocles and Nonnus the potential τις-speech is inserted in the speech of the unhappy women who will be or are already left behind, in contrast to the Homeric model, in which Hector (the husband) is the speaker.

29 On the parallels between the Medea of Apollonius and Homer's Nausicaa, see Clauss 1997, esp. on pages 163–164.

30 The formal connection of the two passages through of the use of potential τις-speech has, to my knowledge, previously remained unnoticed in scholarly research on Apollonius.

TABLE 6 *Functional subtypes by Wilson*

Dissuasive potential τις-speech	– negative comment/shame
Persuasive potential τις-speech	– positive comment/fame
Predictive potential τις-speech	– negative comment/shame – positive comment/fame

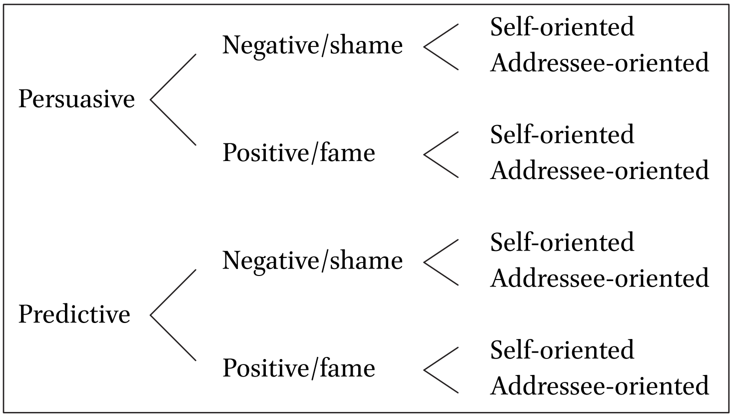

FIGURE 4 *Wilson's functional model revisited*

τις-speeches in the *Dionysiaca*, no specific model can be found. They are only "Homeric" in the sense that the characters "using" them in Nonnus do so for similar reasons and to achieve similar effects as in Homer, and, as I will try to demonstrate, they function in essentially the same way as in Homer.

In order to compare the use of potential τις-speeches, the functional distinctions made by Wilson are a helpful tool (1979, 1–3, as summarized in table 6). He focusses on the argumentative functions of potential τις-speeches in Homer and the tragedians. I have further elaborated on Wilson's functional distinctions and made my own interpretative model to distinguish several types of potential τις-speech (figure 4). The point of view in both models is that of the secondary focalizer, the speaking character who is inserting potential τις-speech in his speech.

Wilson makes a distinction between three types of potential τις-speech: dissuasive, persuasive and predictive, referring to the intentions of the focalizing character. The distinction between persuasive and dissuasive potential τις-speech is, however, problematic and causes ambiguities. Dissuading almost always implies persuading to do one thing rather than another, and it is often

difficult to decide which of the two aspects is more important. Moreover, it is also possible to persuade with a negative example (to predict negative consequences if a certain positive action is not taken), so the correlation suggested by Wilson is not waterproof. Therefore, I prefer to speak of persuasive speech in both cases. I preserve, however, Wilson's distinction between potential τις-speech that is marked as positive in the eyes of the speaker (bringing fame) and τις-speech marked as negative (bringing shame). For predictive (i.e. non-persuasive) potential τις-speeches, the same distinction can be made.

To these two levels of distinction, I have added a third. One can distinguish two more sub-subtypes: potential τις-speech bringing fame/shame to the speaker of the embedding speech (self-oriented), and bringing fame/shame to the addressee (addressee-oriented).

3.1.2.2.1 *Negative Persuasion*

Wilson starts his overview with the "dissuasive" type. In Homer, "the opinion expressed in a potential tis-Rede is usually negative, and the speaker projecting this negative opinion is often attempting to dissuade himself or others from a certain course of action".[31] According to my own analysis of the Homeric examples, four speeches (out of a total of ten Homeric potential τις-speeches) answer to the description of the type "persuasive, predicting shame".[32] It is the most frequent type in Homer and appears to be less frequent in Nonnus.

Nevertheless, two clear examples can be found. The first is part of the speech of Phthonus (8.50–102), intended to provoke Hera to take action against Dionysus. Phthonus judges—quite correctly—that Hera will not be able to countenance the idea that Dionysus would be considered more blessed than her own son Ares. He makes his point with a potential τις-speech (8.89–90, already cited as ex. 3) that tries to persuade her to take action. The potential τις-speech in the speech of Protonoe (40.153–157, cited as ex. 8), also belongs to this category. The shame of being enslaved is a persuasive argument for Protonoe to consider committing suicide rather than surrender. Whereas the first example is addressee-oriented (Phthonus persuades Hera to take action with an if-not argument), the second is self-oriented (Protonoe persuades herself by imagining her own shame).

31 Wilson 1979, 2.

32 Wilson 1979, 2–3 in fact gives the same four examples: *Od.* 6.275–285, 21.324–329, *Il.* 22.106–108 and 23.575–578, but the word "usually" and the absence of any numerical data in his article seem to suggest that there are more examples of this type.

3.1.2.2.2 *Positive Persuasion*

More frequent in Nonnus are potential τις-speeches that likewise have a persuasive function, but persuade with a positive comment, predicting future glory. Several examples of this type are found in exhortations (including self-exhortations): 21.39–40 (Ambrosia's self-exhortation, cited as ex. 5), 28.147–149 (a soldier's self-exhortation, cited as ex. 4) 29.42–44 (Dionysus' battle-exhortation to Hymenaeus, cited below as ex. 17), 46.174–175 (Agave exhorting Autonoe and herself in their capacity as Bacchantes), 48.26–30 (Gaea's battle-exhortation to the Giants).[33] These exhortative examples can best be compared to *Il.* 12.317–321. Sarpedon (12.310–328), here, uses a potential τις-speech in order to exhort Glaucus to fight in the frontline and refers to the hypothetical praise their fellow-countrymen will have for their heroic behaviour.[34] The only other example of this type in Homer emphasizes a different kind of military honour. Hector inserts a potential τις-speech (*Il.* 7.300–302) in his speech to Aias (*Il.* 7.288–302) proposing to end their fight in friendship with the exchange of gifts, hereby imagining the praise of future generations for this more peaceful solution.

In Nonnus, persuasive potential τις-speeches announcing fame also appear in non-military and non-exhortative contexts. Poseidon (42.459–485), for example, tries to convince Beroe to become his wife by promising her fame and glory as the queen of the sea.

9. *D.* 42.471–474

σπεῦσον ἐριδμαίνειν ἀλόχῳ Διός, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ,
ὅττι δάμαρ Κρονίδαο καὶ εὐνέτις Ἐννοσιγαίου
πάντοθι κοιρανέουσιν, ἐπεὶ νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου
Ἥρη σκῆπτρον ἔχει, Βερόη κράτος ἔσχε θαλάσσης.

Hasten to challenge the consort of Zeus, that men may say that the lady of Cronides and the wife of Earthshaker hold universal rule, since Hera has the sceptre of snowy Olympos, Beroë has gotten the empire of the sea.

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33 See also chapter 2.3.3 on the exhortative topos of national honour and personal glory.

34 *Il.* 12.317–321: ὄφρά τις ὧδ' εἴπῃ Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων· | 'οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν | ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα | οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἲς | ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.' "So that many a one of the mail-clad Lycians may say: 'Surely no inglorious men are these who rule in Lycia, our kings, and they eat fat sheep and drink choice wine, honey-sweet: but their might too is noble, since they fight among the foremost Lycians.'" This example is also given by Wilson 1979, 3 to illustrate "persuasion through a positive τις-speech".

Similarly, in 8.207–263 a cunningly disguised Hera tries to convince Semele to ask Zeus to show her his lightning bolt with the promise of future glory which will put her on a par with Hera herself. Both examples are addressee-oriented.

10. *D.* 8.249–250

ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
'Ἥρης καὶ Σεμέλης νυμφοστόλοι εἰσὶ κεραυνοί.'

That people may say—'Hera and Semele both have thunders in waiting for the bedchamber!'

In other examples in Nonnus, the persuasive aspect is less clear. An interesting example is the prayer by Aeacus to his father Zeus (39.138–170), in which two successive τις-speeches are inserted. Aeacus reminds his father of a favour granted to him in the past in the hope of also receiving divine help in the current battle. He emphasizes his own glory (as a son of Zeus) if Zeus helps him a second time.[35] Such a sequence of two successive potential τις-speeches is unique to this example.

11. *D.* 39.142–144
12. *D.* 39.145–148

καί τις ἐνίψῃ
νίκην ἡμετέρην δεδοκημένος· 'ὡς ἐνὶ γαίῃ
Ζεὺς ἑὸν υἷα γέραιρε, καὶ ἐν πελάγεσσι γεραίρει.'
ἄλλος ἀνὴρ λέξειεν Ἀχαιικός· 'εἶν ἐνὶ θεσμῷ
Αἰακὸς Ἰνδοφόνος φυσίζοος· ἀμφότερον γάρ,
κείρων ἐχθρὰ κάρηνα καὶ αὔλακι καρπὸν ὀπάσσας
χάρμα πόρεν Δήμητρι καὶ εὐφροσύνην Διονύσῳ.'

Then men may say when they see our victory, 'As Zeus showed honour to his son on land, so he shows him honour on the sea.' Some other man of Achaia may say, 'Aiacos is both Indian-slayer and lifebringer at once; he both cuts off his enemies' heads and brings fruit to the furrow, giving joy to Demeter and a merry heart to Dionysos.'

35 Compare in this respect Achilles' prayer to Zeus (not coincidentally Aeacus' grandson) in *Il.* 16.233–248, where he similarly reminds Zeus of his earlier favours to him, in the hope that Zeus will also grant him a new favour. On Aeacus and Achilles, see also Introduction p. 5 and n. 21.

3.1.2.2.3 *Positive and Negative Predictive Speeches*

According to Wilson, the third type is predictive. "An anonymous speech can bring fame or shame without demanding an immediate response." In Homer four examples of predictive or non-persuasive potential τις-speeches can be found, of which two are predicting shame (Agamemnon worried about Menelaos (*Il.* 4.176–181), Hector worried about Andromache (*Il.* 6.459–462)) and two are predicting fame (Hector praying for his son's future glory (*Il.* 6.479–480), Hector challenging a future opponent (*Il.* 7.87–91)).[36]

Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* also contains a number of predictive potential τις-speeches. Nereus, for example, predicts Dionysus' fame (addressee-oriented) in order to console him after his defeat by Lycurgus (20.358–368):

> 13. *D.* 20.365–368
> πολλάκι σὸς γενέτης πρόμος αἰθέρος εἴκαθεν Ἥρῃ.
> Σοὶ πλέον ἔσσεται εὖχος, ὅταν μακάρων τις ἐνίψῃ,
> ὅττι Διὸς μεγάλοιο δάμαρ καὶ σύγγονος Ἥρη
> χεῖρας ἑὰς θώρηξεν ἀθωρήκτῳ Διονύσῳ.
>
> Often enough your father himself, the lord of heaven ruling on high, had to give way to Hera! You will have all the more to boast of, when one of the Blessed shall say—Hera consort and sister of mighty Zeus took arms herself against Dionysos unarmed!

Similarly Zeus gives comfort to Semele after impregnating her by predicting the glory of their son (7.360–361, cited as ex. 2). Hymnus' prediction in 15.285–286 (cited as ex. 18) that Nicaea would be confused with Aphrodite, if she helped him tend his cows, is also a prediction of fame. It is not clear whether Nicaea hears his prediction (as yet persuasive?), nor, probably, would the chaste huntress have appreciated the comparison to the goddess of love.

A second group of predictive potential τις-speeches predicts shame for the enemy, when he is defeated (2.303–304: Typhon threatening the Olympian gods, 20.316–318: Lycurgus threatening Dionysus). Other predictive potential τις-speeches in Nonnus are less clearly negative or positive. Aura (48.745–748, cited as ex. 6) seems to take pride in the comparison to Procne and equally does Eeria (30.184–185) seem to take pride in the idea of being killed by the same sword as her father. It is, however, for the reader to decide whether Morrheus (33.261–262) laments or takes pride in his defeat by love.

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36 Wilson 1979, 3. Wilson gives only two examples, contrasting a positive and a negative prediction: *Il.* 6.459–462 and 7.87–91.

To sum up, this overview of the functional subtypes of potential τις-speech in Homer and Nonnus shows that there are no remarkable differences regarding the argumentative function of the device between Homer and Nonnus. Nonnus does not slavishly copy Homer and also uses the device in circumstances for which there is no Homeric precedent.

3.1.2.3 Potential Speakers and Metaliterarity

I would like to argue that there is a third way in which Nonnus uses the potential τις-speech as a vehicle for his constant dialogue with the literary tradition, namely through metaliterary allusions. In the margin of the large list of potential τις-speeches in Nonnus, I would like to discuss some more examples of a related construction, at the farthest reaches of what might be considered potential τις-speech. No direct or indirect speech is inserted in these examples. There is only speech mention, so that they are not examples of potential τις-speech *sensu stricto*. In the three cases that I will discuss here, the speaking character expresses the wish that a certain adjective will not be heard to describe himself or another character.[37]

14. *D.* 1.385–387 (predictive, shame, self-oriented)
δείδια μυθοτόκον πλέον Ἑλλάδα, μή τις Ἀχαιῶν
ὑέτιον Τυφῶνα καὶ ***ὑψιμέδοντα καλέσσῃ***
ἢ ***ὕπατον***, χραίνων ἐμὸν οὔνομα.

I fear Hellas even more, that mother of romances—what if one of that nation call Typhon Lord of Rain, or Highest, and Ruling in the Heights, defiling my name!

15. *D.* 23.231–233 (persuasive, shame, addressee-oriented)
μὴ στεροπὴν Βρομίοιο γενέθλιον εἰς σὲ κορύσσῃ·
ἅζεο, μὴ ***βαρύγουνος***, ὅπως Ἀσωπός, ***ἀκούσῃς***.

37 The three cases selected here represent a larger group of similar passages. Compare also 8.277–278: ἀγρονόμοις δὲ | ἀντὶ κελαινεφέος κικλήσκεται ἀννέφελος Ζεύς. “The countryman speaks no more of Cloudy Zeus but Zeus Cloudless”, 33.333 (Chalcomede’s lament): ὄφρα νέη Βριτόμαρτις ἐγὼ φυγόδεμνος ἀκούσω “that I may be called a new, loveshy Britomartis” and 47.451–452 (Dionysus to Ariadne): ἀλλά σοι ἀστερόεν τελέσω στέφος, ὥς κεν ἀκούσῃς εὐνέτις αἰγλήεσσα φιλοστεφάνου Διονύσου “But for you I will make a starry crown, that you may be called the shinning bedfellow of crownloving Dionysos.” Very similar is also, in Quintus (*Posth.* 9.283), Neoptolemus’ bold statement that he would rather die than be called ἀπτόλεμος, a clear pun on his name (τεθναίην γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπτόλεμος καλεοίμην).

Beware lest he raise against you the lightning which gave Bromios birth! Take care that you be not dubbed Heavyknee, like Asopos!

16. *D*. 48.907–908 (persuasive, shame, self-oriented)
μὴ παλάμῃ θλίψοιμι νόθον γάλα, **μηδ᾽** ἐνὶ λόχμαις
θηροφόνος γεγαυῖα ***γυνὴ φιλότεκνος ἀκούσω.***

Lest I press out the bastard milk with my hand, or be called tender mother in the woods where I slew wild beasts!

Although the element of speech is very limited in these three cases, the functional categories of potential τις-speech can still be used to analyse them. The suggestion of a hypothetical future speaker remains, although only the first of the three examples actually contains a reference to the anonymous person who might be speaking (1.385: τις Ἀχαιῶν).

Zeus in the first example (in his speech to Cadmus and Eros, 1.378–407) expresses his fear that someone now may use the adjectives ὑέτιος, ὑψιμέδων and ὕπατος for the usurper Typhon, who is trying to replace him. The first two adjectives are epithets that are frequently used for Zeus, especially in Nonnus, but also in earlier literature.[38] They are, however, not found in Homer. The third, ὕπατος, is an epithet for Zeus common in Homer and less frequent in Nonnus.[39]

In the second example, Dionysus warns the river Hydaspes that by offending him he risks getting struck by lightning and consequently being mocked as βαρύγουνος like the river Asopus, who received the same treatment and was given this epithet by Callimachus.[40] Again, Nonnus is by far the most frequent user of this epithet coined by Callimachus.[41]

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38 Nonnus uses the epithet ὑέτιος 25 times in total, 24 times for Zeus and only here for Typhon. It is not found elsewhere in poetry, but references to Ζεὺς as ὑέτιος can be found in Pausanias, Themistius, Julius Pollux, Epictetus and Stobaeus. The epithet ὑψιμέδων for Zeus is first attested in Hesiod (*Theog*. 529) and also appears in Pindar, Bacchylides and Aristophanes. In Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, it is in 32 of all 33 cases used for Zeus and only here for Typhon. It also appears 21 times in his *Paraphrase* for the Christian god, possibly in imitation of Gregory of Nazianzus, who also frequently (14×) uses the epithet in this way.

39 The epithet ὕπατος is used 11 times for Zeus in Homer (of a total of 13 occurrences). It occurs only 6 times in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, 4 times for Zeus, once for Rome and only here for Typhon.

40 Cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.78 (Ἀσωπὸς βαρύγουνος, ἐπεὶ πεπάλακτο κεραυνῷ), see also Hopkinson 1994a and Gonnelli 2003 ad loc.

41 Apart from the Callimachean precedent, the adjective only occurs once before Nonnus,

In the third example, Aura, averse to marriage, has found herself pregnant after being raped by Dionysus and now fears becoming a mother against her will and being called φιλότεκνος. This adjective is frequently used in books 44–46 for Agave, calling her truthfully, but with wry irony, a mother loving her child when in her Bacchic rage she kills her son Pentheus.[42] Aura, who is here afraid to be called φιλότεκνος, will eventually kill one of her twin sons in a similar way, by devouring him like a wild animal.[43]

The first two examples most clearly share a metaliterary character, as they allude, respectively, to the standardized literary epithets for Zeus and to a specific passage in Callimachus. The reference to Asopus in our second example is a variant of what is conventionally called an "Alexandrian footnote".[44] The reader's attention is quite explicitly drawn to the fact that the adjective βαρύγουνος has been used for Asopus at some point in the literary tradition and is thus challenged to remember by whom and in which context. But if it was the *poet* Callimachus who first used this epithet for Asopus, who is now understood to be the hypothetical speaker that will use it for Hydaspes? The idea of

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if at least the variant βαρυγούνατος (Theoc. *Id* .18.10) is counted. Nonnus uses only the Callimachean variant and does so 19 times in the *Dionysiaca* and once in the *Paraphrase*. After Nonnus (and probably in imitation of Nonnus), the adjective is used by Colluthus (once) and John of Gaza (once).

42 The adjective is used 15 times in the *Dionysiaca*. It is used for Electra (2×), Aristaeus, Demeter, Zeus (2×), Tethys, Hydaspes, Clymene and here for Aura. Only in the case of Agave, however, does it appear as a recurring epithet (5×). See also Simon 2004, 164. Chuvin 1992, 143 also refers to the common use of the adjective as an epithet in epitaphs for mothers.

43 Aura in 48.921–924 throws one of her sons in the air (cf. on Pentheus: 46.176–188) and devours him (cf. on Pentheus: 46.209–218). The phrase καί μιν ἀφαρπάξασα φίλῳ τυμβεύσατο λαιμῷ (48.923) closely resembles 46.353 καὶ νέκυν, ὃν κατέπεφνε. φίλη τυμβεύσατο μήτηρ (Agave burying Pentheus). Compare also 21.123 (ἄτροφον ἀρσενόπαιδα τόκον τυμβεύσατο γαστήρ) on the madness of the Arab cowherd, devouring his children, and 45.181 (ἡνίοχον καὶ πῶλον ἑῷ τυμβεύσατο λαιμῷ) on the gruesome habits of the giant Alpus. See also Vian 2003, 209 for the last two references.

44 The phenomenon of the so-called Alexandrian footnote was first described by David Ross (1975, 78). The term was further established by Stephen Hinds (1998, 1), who defined it as "the signalling of specific allusion by a poet through seemingly general appeals to tradition and report, such as 'the story goes' (fama est), 'they relate' (ferunt), or 'it is said' (dicitur)" He continues (1998, 2): "*Dicuntur* is not of course a real footnote or scholium, such as one would find in Crassicius' commentary on Cinna's *Zmyrna* or in Servius' commentaries on Virgil; but it does very precisely mimic the citation style of a learned Latin commentary. What emerges, then, is a trope for the poet's allusive activity, a figurative turn: the poet portrays himself as a kind of scholar, and portrays his allusion as a kind of learned citation."

attributing epithets to a character "like Callimachus who used it for Asopus" seems, indeed, to suggest a reference to a certain literary activity, which then may lead to the conclusion that the hypothetical speaking person will be a poet as well or a student of poetry, who is reacting and commenting on the poetical description of the situation.

In the first example, there is also a clear suggestion that the anonymous speaking "Achaean" (τις Ἀχαιῶν already recalls the world of Homer) does not belong to the fictional world of the characters but rather to the world of the narrator and his narratee. The suggestion is even stronger here as the speaking character (Zeus) seems to refer directly to the "outside world" when he expresses his worries about his reputation in Hellas, which he calls μυθοτόκος (1.385) in what seems to be a reference to the Greek mythological tradition. The audience is thus invited to include Nonnus' narrator among the storytelling Greeks who Zeus fears will now use "his" personal epithets for the usurper Typhon. As a self-conscious literary character, Zeus, indeed, seems not only to care about his reputation within the literary world in which he is confined but also to fear the way his story will be told.[45] In both cases there is a degree of dramatic irony at work, as the very voicing of the fear (Zeus) or the threat (Dionysus to Hydaspes) is a realization of it in Nonnus' narrative.

It is tempting to present a similar reading for the third example as well. The intratextual echo suggests a comparison with Agave, which immediately raises expectations about the infanticide Aura is about to commit. Is Aura shunning comparison with the childloving Agave in the same way as she is welcoming comparison with Procne (see 3.1.1 above) who intentionally killed her child? Like the other two examples, it reads as a metalepse. The metaliterary character is, however, less explicit in this case as the suggestive force of the intratextual

45 As a mise-en-abyme, this passage is an important clue for interpreting the characterization strategies for both Zeus and Typhon in the first books of the *Dionysiaca*. Compare also 1.299–300 **ἀννεφέλου** δὲ Γίγαντος ἐπὶ ξηροῖσιν ἀγοστοῖς | βροντὴ κωφὸν ἔπεμπεν **ἀδουπήτου** μέλος ἠχοῦς (Typhon is described as a false Zeus (1.295: Ζεὺς νόθος) and therefore as **cloudless** and **thunder-less** by the narrator) and 1.432–434: ἑζόμενος δέ | χερσὶν **ἀδουπήτοισιν** ἐθήμονος ἄμμορος ἠχοῦς | πηκτίδος ὑμετέρης ἐπιδεύεται **ἀννέφελος** Ζεύς· (Typhon himself imagines how Zeus will be left **cloudless** and **thunder-less** after he has taken over Olympos). In these two passages Nonnus introduces two new epithets (ἀννέφελος and ἀδούπητος) that invert the meaning of the two epithets of **thunderer** (ἐρίγδουπος) and **cloudgatherer** (νεφεληγερέτα) commonly used to describe Zeus from Homer onwards. Typhon is a false Zeus, who (albeit unsuccessfully) threatens not only to take Zeus' place on Olympus but also to steal his reputation.

echo is balanced by realistic details, such as the specification of the location (907: ἐνὶ λόχμαις "in the woods"), which could be taken as an argument to situate the imagined speaker safely and soundly within the fictional world, in which case it (or rather "she") can be either Artemis (Aura's opponent) or one of Aura's fellow Nymphs.

3.1.3 *New Wine in Old Vessels*

In the previous paragraphs, I have emphasized the similarities between the Nonnian use of potential τις-speech and the Homeric examples. As will have become apparent in the many examples cited, there are, however, also subtle differences. In this final paragraph, I will zoom in on these differences, taking the observations of other scholars of these passages in Nonnus as a starting point.

As mentioned above, Agosti summarizes the sentiments of earlier scholars by describing the potential τις-speeches as "sentenze epigrammatiche basate sull'antitesi" (2003, 533). Thus he characterizes them in the first place by connecting them to a different literary genre and one of this genre's prime characteristics (see also 3.1 and n. 5 above). Also in this respect, however, Nonnus—at least at first sight—seems more "Homeric" than might be expected, for, interestingly, both modern scholars and ancient scholiasts have convincingly drawn lines between the Homeric potential τις-speeches and the genre of the epigram. Both *Il.* 6.460–461 and *Il.* 7.89–90 can and have been regarded as "oral epitaphs" (de Jong 1987b, 77).[46] Ruth Scodel (1989) sees a clear connection in the concern common to both modes of expression (epitaph and potential τις-speech) with how one aims to be remembered.[47]

Whereas Homer, however, predates the oldest epitaphs that have been preserved, Nonnus is looking back at a long tradition of both literary and actu-

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46 See de Jong, 1987b, 77–78 and Scodel 1989. Both refer to the the *Scholia vetera in Iliadem*. Whereas the scholiast commenting on *Il.* 6.460 notes that it is composed as an epigram (ἐπιγραμματικὸν ἔχει τύπον ὁ στίχος), the scholion on *Il.* 7.89–90 specifies even further that it is an epitaph and comments on the ways it diverges from the genre's normal practices: 'ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα': ὡς ἤδη νενικηκὼς ἐπιγράφει τῷ τάφῳ †τὸν† ἐπινίκιον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γιγνωσκομένῳ τῷ μέλλοντι μονομαχεῖν τὸ ἐπικήδειον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου διατιθείς "'This is the grave of a man': he writes a victory epigram on his grave as if he already is victorious, and not about someone who has died, but about the unknown man he will be duelling with. Thus he puts the funeral before the actual death" (my translation). For a discussion of *Il.* 6.460–461, see also above under 3.1.2.1.

47 She quite convincingly argues that these "oral epitaphs" in the *Iliad* reflect an earlier stage of the epitaph tradition of which there are no extant examples.

ally carved epigrams of which the epitaph is only one of several subgenres. Inevitably, the different historical and literary context has its consequences for the ways in which the epigram is alluded to and incorporated into their respective epics. Whereas the total absence of any reference to written text and literacy in Homer has been the cause of much speculation, Nonnus does not shun references to written text.[48] Nonnus' potential τις-speeches may not include any "oral epitaphs", but the *Dionysiaca* quotes no less than six "written" epitaphs. Two are quoted by the narrator and thus can be regarded as "actual" epitaphs, but four of them have the value of a "potential" epitaph in the sense that they are pronounced by characters who express their *intention* of carving them or their *wish* that they be carved by another character, while it remains unclear whether any of these suggestions will be acted upon.[49]

Thus, the epigram-like potential τις-speeches in Homer find their equivalent in Nonnus not in the shape of potential τις-speeches, but in the shape of "potential" epigrams. The epigrammatic style of Nonnus' potential τις-speeches, observed by Agosti and others, therefore, refers to a different kind of engagement with the epigram genre, implying stylistic rather than formulaic (cf. Scodel 1989 on epitaph formulas in Homer's potential τις-speeches) resemblances: they are elegant, concise pieces of miniature poetry, most often pointed one- or two-

48 Scodel 1989, 58: "Although writing was surely known in Homer's world, the epics do not mention the existence of writing (apart from the infamous σήματα λυγρά of *Il.* 6.168)." Scodel further comments on the vagueness of the reference to writing in this *Iliadic* passage as "implying writing, but using terminology which avoids violating the archaizing norm". To my knowledge, and probably in imitation of Homer as part of the conventions of the genre, there are likewise no references to writing or literacy in Apollonius or Quintus. In Nonnus, on the other hand, there is a remarkable density of references to writing, including references to the *Iliad* as a written text (25.254: βίβλος ὁμόχρονος Ἠριγνείῃ and 42.181: ἐψεύσατο βίβλος Ὁμήρου). When referring to his own poetic activities the narrator uses both verbs of singing (1.12: ἀειδομένου and 25.6: ἀείσω) and verbs that seem to refer to a writing activity (25.10: χαράξω).

49 See also Introduction p. 25 and footnote 80. Two actual epitaphs: the epitaph for Orontes, inscribed by the Hamadryad Nymphs (17.312: ἔγραφον) in 17.313–314 and the epitaph for Opheltes, inscribed by the Cretan Korybants (37.100: ἐπιγράψαντες ἔπος) in 37.101–102. More interesting here are the four "potential" epitaphs: Zeus mockingly promises his defeated enemy Typhon to write (2.628: τοῦτο χαράξω) the proposed epitaph on his grave (2.629–630), Calamus expresses the wish that the Naiad Nymphs will write the proposed epitaph (11.475: ἔπος κεχαραγμένον ἔστω) on his and Carpus' grave (11.476–477), Hymnus asks Nicaea to write (15.360: χάραξον ἔπος τόδε) the proposed epitaph for him (15.361–362) and finally Agave promises (46.317: τοῦτο χαράξω) the dead Pentheus to write the proposed epitaph on his grave (46.318–319).

liners elaborating on a paradox or articulating a sharp antithesis.[50] Although part of a speech, they can in many cases be read and understood independently from their context, which is much less the case for the potential τις-speeches in Homer.

A good example to show the epigrammatic character of potential τις-speeches in Nonnus is the one inserted in Dionysus' speech (29.39–44) to his beloved Hymenaeus, exploiting the commonplace of war as a metaphor for love.[51] This potential τις-speech could, in fact, perfectly be imagined to be an inscription at the foot of a statue of the young eromenos, armed with bow and arrow.

17. *D.* 29.42–44

ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
'Ἀμφοτέρων ἐτύχησε βαλὼν Ὑμέναιος ὀιστῷ,
εἰς χρόα Δηριάδαο καὶ ἐς κραδίην Διονύσου'

That men may say, 'Hymenaios hit two marks with one arrow, the body of Deriades and the heart of Dionysos!'

A contrast (here: war/love) is emphasized by the use of parallelisms or chiasms in the verse construction. Far from being the realistic comments of a man of the crowd, Nonnus' τις-speeches in the first place show poetic virtuosity. The style throughout is uniform. In most cases, the τις-speech is placed at the end of a longer speech.[52] It functions as a closing device to elegantly end the speech in which it is inserted by pointedly rephrasing the central argument of the speech or adding a mythological parallel.[53] This final position also marks a difference from Homer, where the focalizing character most often only stops speaking after adding a brief reaction on the potential speech (cf. *Il.* 6.462–463, quoted above under 3.1.2.1).

50 Homer's potential τις-speeches are on average longer. The average length of potential τις-speech in Nonnus is 1.6 lines, in Homer 3.2 lines.

51 On this speech and its epigram-like character see also Collart 1913, 136, Agosti 2004, 292 and above under 2.4.4.

52 Potential τις-speeches in Nonnus that close a speech: 15.285–286, 20.316–318, 28.147–149, 29.42–44, 30.184–185, 33.261–262, 40.155–157, 46.174–175, 48.26–30, *Par.* 5.167–168.

53 Potential τις-speeches in Nonnus referring to mythological parallels: 2.303–304 (referring to Hermes freeing Ares from Otus and Ephialtes), 7.360–361 (to Minos), 8.89–90 (to Ares), 8.249–250 (to Hera), 15.346–347 (to Aphrodite), 42.471–474 (to Hera), 48.26–30 (to Titans and Zagreus), 48.547–549 (to Theseus), 48.747–749 (to Procne).

The two examples from the *Paraphrase*, moreover, clearly indicate that Nonnus' potential τις-speech is primarily a rhetorical and stylistic device. They are additions by the paraphrast to the gospel's text. Nonnus' "Vorliebe für Oxymora"[54] must have triggered him to insert a potential τις-speech to put more emphasis on two passages of the Gospel in which a paradoxical contrast is suggested.

I would like to add another point of difference which can be of significance. The above analysis (under 3.1.2.3) of three fragments in which Nonnus' characters seem concerned about the epithets attributed to them in poetry may also raise more general questions about the imagined identity of the anonymous speakers in Nonnus. In Homer, the identity of the potential speaker is most often further specified, as an Achaean, a Lycian, an "arrogant" Trojan, three times depreciatory as a "κακώτερος" or simply as a "later-born man sailing by". Nonnus, generally, simply keeps it to τις. If, in only a few cases, his identity is further specified, he can be a god (1×, 20.366–368), a mortal (1×, 8.89–90), or either a god or a mortal (2×, 48.26–30 and 20.316–318), which hardly narrows down the possibilities. Only once is the speaker given a nationality: Ἀχαιικός (39.145–148).[55] Whereas, in Homer, the speaker of a potential τις-speech is generally imagined to be someone from the crowd, of a lower social status than the Homeric heroes,[56] we are not given any clue as to the identity of the τις in Nonnus.[57] And whereas the lower social status of the potential speaker in Homer also affects the value of his judgement, determined by social conventions, the absolute anonymity of the speaker in Nonnus grants the potential comment a sense of objectivity and detachment from the world of the characters.

54 Golega 1930, 60–61.

55 Cf. 1.385–387 (See 3.1.2.3), where being "Achaean" is associated with μυθοτόκον […] Ἑλλάδα.

56 An interesting comment on this fact can be found in the *Scholia vetera* on *Il.* 22.106–108: ἔθος δὲ τοῖς χείροσι ψέγειν τὰ τῶν κρεισσόνων ἔργα, καὶ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀνιαρὸν τὸ ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων κακολογεῖσθαι. "It is the habit of inferior people to find fault in the actions of their betters and for their betters it is grievous to be spoken of badly by these inferiors" (my translation). See also Scodel 1989, 63: "Homeric characters fear as much anonymous censure of their social inferiors, as much, if not more, as that of their peers. The κακώτερος appears only to introduce imagined speech. […] Where τις is specified or can be identified as a member of a social group, it is always a group lower than that of the speaker."

57 See also Geisz 2013, 177: "However, in both cases [the two examples of ὄφρά τις ὧδ' εἴπῃ in Homer], the scope of the indefinite pronoun τις is limited by a complement in the genitive: to the Acheans and the Trojans, Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε, in the case of Hector, and to the thickly armoured Lycians, Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων, in the case of Sarpedon. The Nonnian narrator widens the range of the pronoun by not restricting its meaning."

In this line of interpretation one might be inclined to read the anonymous but often quick-witted comments, drawing on a good knowledge of mythological parallels, as invitations to the reader of the poem to draw the same or similar conclusions as the anonymous speaker, with whom they can now more easily identify. I have suggested a metaliterary reading for the examples discussed in 3.1.2.3, in which case the hypothetical speaker seemed to belong to the world of the poets and their learned audience, but can we interpret the "genuine" potential τις-speeches in a similar way? It is a tempting hypothesis. What one *can* observe, however, is that, in some cases, a potential τις-speech is used to draw a line of connection between different narrative levels. This is, for example, the case for the potential τις-speech inserted by Hymnus to compare Nicaea with Aphrodite.

18. *D.* 15.285–286:
ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
"Ὕμνου μηλονόμοιο βόας Κυθέρεια νομεύει'

That one may say—'Cythereia is tending the kine of shepherd Hymnos.'

The speech of Hymnus in which this flattering comparison is inserted follows a comparison by the main narrator between Hymnus and Anchises earlier on in the narrative (15.210).[58] Consequently, the comparison between Nicaea and Aphrodite in the potential τις-speech reads as the logical sequel to this first comparison made by the main narrator. Hymnus and Nicaea, of course, cannot have heard the narrator's text. The anonymous τις thus completes the comparison initiated by the narrator, and the third and first levels of the narration are in this way subtly connected. Such a multi-layered reading may of course not be possible for every example, but I do think the changed status of the anonymous τις in Nonnus affects the way the potential comments will have been interpreted by his contemporary audience, who—I would suggest—probably will have been more inclined to appropriate the analysis of the mythological events as suggested by the anonymous speakers of Nonnus, than the opinions of Homer's κακώτεροι.

58 15.210–212: εἴκελος Ἀγχίσῃ ῥοδοειδέι, τοῦ ποτε Κύπρις | ἀργεννὴν ἐνόμευεν ὀρεσσινόμων στίχα ταύρων | κεστὸν ἐλαφρίζουσα βοοσσόον. "Like a rosy Anchises, whose white string of mountain-ranging bulls Cypris once tended, swinging her girdle to shoo the cattle on."

3.2 More Hypothetical Speeches

Whereas clear antecedents are found in Homer for the occurrence of potential τις-speeches in Nonnus, this is much less the case for the heterogeneous group of 22 "hypothetical" embedded speeches that is the subject of the second part of this chapter. Based on elements of content and form, it is possible to make a distinction between four main subgroups. Formally, the distinction can be made according to the mode and tense of the verb used in the introduction formula.

I have counted:

- 6 first person future indicatives (nos. 1–6)
- 6 aorist imperatives (nos. 7–12)
- 6 second person future indicatives (nos. 13–18)
- 2 third person aorist subjunctives (+ 2 exceptions) (nos. 19–22)

Based on the elements of content that connect the examples from each group, I have decided to name these categories, respectively, "first person potential speeches" (speaker indicates that he will say X if situation Y occurs), "messenger requests" (speaker asks addressee to convey message X to person Y), "procatalepsis" (or anticipatio, after the rhetorical figure used) and "third person 'desired' speeches" (speaker hopes person X will say Y). They will be briefly discussed in the next four paragraphs.

3.2.1 *First Person Potential Speeches*

The first group of hypothetical speeches is introduced with a first person future indicative. The speaker of the embedded speech and of the speech in which it is embedded is the same person. The speaking character, as it were, predicts his/her own reactions to a certain event.

1.	1.329–330 Hera	ὅπως Διὶ τοῦτο βοήσω·	'Τέτλαθι διπλόα κέντρα καὶ ἀγρονόμων καὶ Ἐρώτων.' 'Learn to bear two goads now, Cupid's (Eros's') and the farmer's!'
2.	11.29–31 Dionysus	ὅπως Σατύροισι βοήσω·	'Πῶς ῥόδον εἰς ῥόδον ἦλθε; Πόθεν μία κίρναται αἴγλη καὶ χροῒ φοινίσσοντι καὶ ἀστράπτοντι ῥεέθρῳ;' 'How came rose to rose? How is ruddy flesh and sparkling water mingled into one radiant light?'

3. 42.285–290 Dionysus as a gardener	τοῦτο βοήσω·	‘Σκορπίος ἀντέλλει βιοτήσιος, ἔστι δὲ κῆρυξ αὔλακος εὐκάρποιο βόας ζεύξωμεν ἀρότρῳ. Πληιάδες δύνουσι· πότε σπείρωμεν ἀρούρας; Αὔλακες ὠδίνουσιν, ὅτε δρόσος εἰς χθόνα πίπτει λουομένην Φαέθοντι.’ ‘Scorpion is rising with his bounteous plenty, he is the herald of a fruitful furrow, let us yoke oxen to the plow. The Pleiads are setting: when shall we sow the fields? The furrows are teeming, when the dew falls on land bathed by Phaëthon.’
4. 42.291–292 Dionysus as a gardener (2)	ἐνίψω·	‘Διψαλέη πότε γαῖα Διὸς νυμφεύεται ὄμβρῳ;’ ‘When will thirsty Earth be wedded with the showers of Zeus?’
5. 42.293–294 Dionysus as a gardener (3)	εἰς σὲ βοήσω·	‘Ἄνθεα σεῖο τέθηλε· πότε κρίνα καὶ ῥόδα τίλλω;’ ‘Your flowers are blooming, when shall I pluck lilies and roses?’
6. 42.295–300 Dionysus as a gardener (4)	ἐνίψω·	‘Ἄμπελος ἡβώουσα πεπαίνεται ἄμμορος ἅρπης· Παρθένε, σύγγονος ἦλθε· πότε τρυγόωμεν ὀπώρην; Σὸς στάχυς ἠέξητο καὶ ἀμητοῖο χατίζει: λήιον ἀμήσω σταχυηφόρον, ἀντὶ δὲ Δηοῦς μητρὶ τεῇ ῥέξαιμι θαλύσια Κυπρογενείῃ.’ ‘The vine is in her prime, ripening without the sickle: Maiden, your sister has come—when shall we gather the grapes? Your wheatear is grown big and wants the harvest; I will reap the crop of corn-ears and will celebrate harvest home for your mother the Cyprus-born instead of Deo.’

Of these six cases of this type of embedded speech in the *Dionysiaca*, four (nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6) are part of the same speech of Dionysus to Beroe (42.282–312). He is trying to seduce her, pretending to be a gardener and gives a demonstration of his professional knowledge by predicting his own reactions every time a new season arrives.[59] The idea that he is playing a role is highlighted by the use of embedded direct speech. The other two are isolated examples. In the first, Hera (1.326–343), enraged by the sight of Zeus in the guise of a bull kidnapping Europa, expresses the hope that he will be captured by a farmer and used on his fields, which will give her the opportunity to ridicule him (no. 1). She is alone,

59 See also the discussion of this speech in 6.3.2.

yet adds dramatic elements to her speech by quoting herself and using apostrophes to address several absent deities.[60] In the second example, Dionysus (11.7–42) invites Ampelus to a swimming competition and then expresses his desire to see his body in the water, imagining his own words when he sees it (no. 2).[61] In all cases, the direct speech adds to the theatricality of the passages. Rather than embedded speeches, they are embedded exclamations, shouted out loudly in excitement (introduced by βοήσω instead of with a more neutral verb of speaking).

This type of embedded speech is very similar to potential τις-speech in the sense that it also expresses possible future reactions. Only the person who is pronouncing the reaction is different. An example in the same vein can be found in Euripides', *Iphigenia in Aulis* and has been mentioned as an example of "projected opinion" in Wilson's overview of potential τις-speeches in classical tragedy (1979, 12). In this example (*IA* 1171–1179), Clytaemnestra imagines her own grief when Iphigenia will be sacrificed and quotes her own "future" lamentations in direct speech. I have no knowledge of any other precedents. It seems unlikely, though, that Nonnus would have imitated Euripides in this respect, because of the contrast between the tone and content of Clytaemnestra's speech and that of the (rather light-hearted) examples in Nonnus.

3.2.2 *Messenger Requests*

In the second group of hypothetical speeches, introduced with an imperative, embedded direct speech is used to quote a message that is to be delivered. Although the epic tradition includes many requests to deliver messages, these are not usually quoted in direct speech before they are delivered.[62]

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60 See also the discussion of this speech in 5.3.1. The contrast that is emphasized in this embedded potential speech between the κέντρον of love and the κέντρον (whip) of a cowherd, may remind us of the similar contrast between the arrows of love and the arrows of war 29.42–44 (potential τις-speech quoted as ex. 17, cf. 3.1.3). The clear stylistic parallels between Nonnus' potential τις-speeches and his other types of hypothetical speech will be further explored in the discussion below.

61 On this speech, see also the analysis above under 2.4.4.

62 I have found no examples of embedded direct speech in this context in Apollonius or Quintus (only indirect examples, cf. *Argon.* 1.703–707 and *Posth.* 14.185–222). Only *Od.* 16.267–306 seems to contain a parallel for the examples in Nonnus. Odysseus gives instructions to his son Telemachus to defeat the suitors and quotes in full (16.288–294) the answer Telemachus must give them when they become suspicious. Odysseus even repeats his orders in *Od.* 19.4–13, again with (exactly the same) embedded speech (*Od.* 19.7–13).

7.	1.128–129 Europa to waves	εἴπατε ταύρῳ, | εἰ βόες εἰσαΐουσιν·	‘ἀμείλιχε, φείδεο κούρης’ ‘Merciless, spare a girl!’
8.	4.220–221 Selene to Harmonia	Παφίης τέκος, εἰπὲ τεκούσῃ·	‘Κερτομέει Φαέθων σε, καὶ αἰσχύνει με Σελήνη.’ ‘Phaëthon mocks you, and Selene puts me to shame.’
9.	16.224–225 Dionysus to the rocks	εἴπατε, πέτραι·	‘Καὶ κύνες οἰκτείρουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἐλέαιρεν Ἀμαζών.’ ‘Even the dogs have compassion, and there is no pity in the Amazon!’
10.	18.317–319 Dionysus to messenger	τοῦτο μολὼν ἄγγειλον ἀγήνορι Δηριαδῆι·	‘κοίρανε, νόσφι μάχης ἢ δέχνυσο δῶρα Λυαίου ἢ Βρομίῳ πολέμιζε καὶ ἔσσεαι ἶσος Ὀρόντῃ.’ ‘Prince, accept the gifts of Lyaios without war, or fight against Bromios and you shall be like Orontes!’
11.	48.559–560 Ariadne to the shore	ἠιόνες Νάξοιο, βοήσατε·	‘Νυμφίε Θησεῦ, Μινώη καλέει σε χολωομένη Διονύσῳ.’ ‘O bridegroom Theseus, Minos’s daughter calls you in anger against Dionysos!’
12.	48.802–803 Aura to the Horae	καὶ εἴπατε Τριτογενείῃ·	‘Παρθενικὴ Γλαυκῶπι νεητόκε, μῆτερ ἀμήτωρ.’ ‘O virgin Brighteyes, newborn, mother who mother had none!’

Only one of these six examples in the *Dionysiaca* (no. 10) contains a real message that will actually be conveyed: Dionysus asks his herald Pherespondus in 18.316–319 to deliver an ultimatum to Deriades and quotes the exact words to be uttered.[63] Three of the six speeches are requests to natural elements (nos. 7, 11 and 12: waves, shore and the hours of childbirth) to deliver a message as part of a lonesome lament. The request in these cases is merely rhetorical, highlighting the loneliness of the speaker.[64]

Purely rhetorical is also the Moon’s request to Harmonia (no. 8) to pass a message to her mother Aphrodite. The jeering tone recalls Hera’s first person embedded speech (no. 1) commenting on Zeus’ inglorious subjection to love. Here, Selene takes malicious pleasure in Harmonia’s grief at leaving her home

63 In 21.233–239, Pherespondus delivers his message but does not use the exact wording of Dionysus. His speech of 7 lines is a more elaborate version of the concise two-liner dictated by Dionysus.

64 Compare also 5.355–358 in which Actaeon asks Mount Cithaeron to convey the news of his death to his parents (without actually quoting the message).

for Cadmus. She is pleased to see that even Aphrodite's daughter can suffer from love. Instead of quoting herself like Hera did, Selene "charges" Harmonia to be her messenger to Aphrodite, whereas Harmonia, below on earth, can, in all probability, not hear any of this.[65]

In only one of the six speeches introduced by an imperative, the quoted speech is not conceived as a message (no. 9). Dionysus' amorous soliloquy in book 16 (191–227) is for the most part addressed to his dog. He closes his speech with an apostrophe to the rocks asking them to voice their opinion, after which he quotes what he wants them to say. Thus he invites them to make the comparison between the compassionate character of the dog and the ruthlessness of his beloved Nicaea. The difference from the other requests to natural elements is that Dionysus in this case does not mention an addressee for the speech of the rocks. If the formal aspect of the introductory verb is not taken into account, this speech could, in fact, also be categorized under 3.2.4 "third person 'desired' speeches".

Note also the symmetry in the composition of nos. 8 and 9. The pointed juxtapositions of two opposites recalls the often antithetical structure of the potential τις-speeches in Nonnus.

3.2.3 *Procatalepsis*

The third type is a more homogeneous group. Nonnus is the first poet to repeatedly use the rhetorical formula ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς (or in Nonnus' epic language ἀλλ' ἐρέεις) to introduce possible counterarguments.[66] This rhetorical figure in which possible arguments are countered is called procatalepsis or anticipatio. Typically, it only occurs in persuasive speeches. The difference between this category of hypothetical speech and the Homeric device of the potential τις-speech is, again, subtle. In both cases, an opinion is projected onto someone else and his potential reaction is quoted, but whereas in potential τις-speech this other person is an anonymous speaker, in the case of procatalepsis, the potential reaction is projected onto the addressee of the speech in which it is embedded. He is addressed in the second person before his potential com-

65 See also the discussion of this speech in 5.3.2.

66 See Agosti (2005) and Massimilla 2003. Wilson (1979, 5) mentions procatalepsis as a form of "projected future opinion", found in rhetorical prose. See also Sansone 2012, 181–184 for the occurrence of procatalepsis in the tragedies of Euripides (for example in *Supp.* 184–185: τάχ' οὖν ἂν εἴποις + embedded direct speech) and Bers 1997, 98–99. In the theoretical work of Hermogenes (*Inv.* 3.4.46), the rhetorical device is referred to as ὑποφορά and defined as ὁ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ λόγος.

ments are quoted. Another important difference is the value of the potential reaction. Whereas the observations and judgements expressed in a potential τις-speech are never contested and are even pronounced with a certain authority, these procataleptic speeches always have the status of a faulty argument.

Parallel to his use of potential τις-speech, Nonnus, when using this rhetorical figure, also varies between direct and indirect forms. Apart from the six instances in which there is direct speech, as listed below, there are eleven similar examples with indirect speech (most often with ἀλλ' ἐρέεις ὅτι). I have chosen not to quote the indirect variants here because they already receive ample treatment in the article on the subject by Giulio Massimilla (2003). The direct and indirect examples are unevenly spread over the epic poem (the direct form occurs only in the second half of the *Dionysiaca*, whereas indirect examples occur throughout the entire poem), but this seems to be purely coincidental.[67] What is more interesting, however, is that one instance of this rhetorical device (an indirect variant) is not found in character text but in narrator text, as part of the elaborate rhetorical comparison between Dionysus, Perseus, Heracles and Minos in the second prologue of the *Dionysiaca* (25.1–270). The second person addressed in this example of procatalepsis (25.80) is not a character but the narratee of the *Dionysiaca*.[68]

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67 The indirect forms are: 4.45, 4.106, 4.188, 6.356–358, 25.80, 25.359, 39.62–63, 40.25, 42.374, 45.82 and 47.689. When following the interpretation of the Greek text of the Budé edition, one would count seven direct and only ten indirect forms. Massimilla (2002, 207) has, however, convincingly argued against the use of quotation marks in line 40.25 (Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις· Εὔοπλος ἐμὴ δάμαρ οἶδεν Ἐνυώ; in the speech of Athena disguised as Morrheus to Deriades; see also Accorinti 2001, 1–3 and 2004, 75–76). If ἐμὴ δάμαρ is a direct quote of the addressee of the speech, Deriades, it would refer to his wife Orsiboe (cf. Simon 1999, 258). Within Morrheus' speech, however, the hypothetical argument of Deriades would make more sense if it referred to Morrheus' own wife Cheirobie (ἐμή thus referring to the speaker of the framing speech), which would be the case if we interpret the phrase as indirect speech.

68 25.80: ἀλλ' ἐρέεις, ὅτι κῆτος ἀλίτροφον ἔκτανε Περσεύς. This example is also analysed in Geisz's dissertation (2013, 126–127).

13.	27.49 Deriades to Dionysus	Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις·	'Κρονίωνος Ὀλύμπιον αἷμα κομίζω.' 'I have in me Cronion's Olympian blood.'
14.	38.209 Helios to Phaethon[69]	Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις·	'Ζαγρῆι πόρεν σπινθῆρα κεραυνοῦ.' 'He gave Zagreus the flash of the thunderbolt!'
15.	40.545–546 Eros to Abarbarea[70]	Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις·	'μεθέπω διερὸν γένος, ἐκ δὲ ῥοάων αὐτοτελὴς γενόμην, καὶ ἐμὴ τροφὸς ἔπλετο πηγή.' 'Mine is a watery race, I came selfborn from the streams, and my nurse was a fountain.'
16.	45.92–93 Pentheus to Teiresias	Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις·	'γλαυκῶπις ἐς ἄρσενα δῆριν ἱκάνει σύγγονον ἔγχος ἔχουσα καὶ ἀσπίδα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη' 'Brighteyes Pallas Athena marches to battle with men, holding the spear and shield that were born with her'
17.	45.170–171 Teiresias to Pentheus	Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις·	'μεθέπω δέμας ἄλκιμον, ἀμφιέπω δὲ φρικτὸν ὀδοντοφύτων αὐτόσπορον αἷμα Γιγάντων.' 'I have mighty strength, I have in my nature the blood of the terrible giants that sprang of themselves from the sown Teeth.'
18.	47.433–434 Dionysus to Ariadne	Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις·	'Ναετῆρα πεδοσκαφέος λαβυρίνθου δισσοφυῆ φοίνιξεν ὁμόζυγον ἀνέρα ταύρῳ' 'He shed the blood of the halfbull man whose den was the earthdug labyrinth!'

Note that nos. 14 and 15 are inserted in a speech that is already an embedded speech in itself, as part of a longer narrative speech. The procataleptic speeches are thus inserted not on a secondary but on a tertiary level of the narration. These are the only two examples in the *Dionysiaca* of direct speech in speech in speech.

3.2.4 *Third Person "Desired" Speeches*

The final category that I propose to distinguish consists of embedded speeches introduced by a verb, not in the first or second person but, just like potential τις-speeches, in the third person. The difference is that these speeches are not spoken by an anonymous τις but by a specifically mentioned person. Whereas

69 Speech inserted on a third level. The speech of Helius (38.196–211) is part of the story narrated by Hermes (38.105–434).

70 Speech inserted on a third level. The speech of Eros (542–569) is part of the story narrated by Heracles Astrochiton (40.429–573).

in potential τις-speeches a comment of an anonymous observer is predicted (compare also 3.2.1 and 3.2.3), in these two cases a desire is expressed to hear a specific person speak the quoted words (compare 3.2.2).[71]

19.	11.316–324 Dionysus, Ampelus (dead)	Ἄμπελον αὐδήεντα τίθει πάλιν εἰς μίαν ὥρην, | ὑστάτιον καὶ μοῦνον ὅπως ἕνα μῦθον ἐνίψῃ·	‘Τί στενάχεις, Διόνυσε, τὸν οὐ στοναχῇσιν ἐγείρεις; Οὔατά μοι παρέασι, καὶ οὐ βοόωντος ἀκούω, ὄμματά μοι παρέασι, καὶ οὐ στενάχοντα δοκεύω· Νηπενθὴς Διόνυσος, ἐμοὶ μὴ δάκρυα λείβῃς, ἀλλὰ τεὸν λίπε πένθος, ἐπεὶ φονίῃ παρὰ πηγῇ Νῃιάδες στενάχουσι καὶ οὐ Νάρκισσος ἀκούει, Ἡλιάδων Φαέθων κινυρὴν οὐκ οἶδεν ἀνίην.’ ‘Why do you sigh for me, Dionysos, when no sighing will wake me? Ears I have, but I hear not the caller; eyes I have, but I see not him that sighs. Dionysos nevermourning, shed no tears over me. Nay, leave your mourning; the Naiads may sigh by that fountain of death, but Narcissus hears not; Phaëthon knows not the sorrowful pains of the Heliads.’
20.	48.512–513 Dionysus, Aura	Αἴθε φίλοις στομάτεσσιν ἔπος τόδε μοῦνον ἐνίψῃ·	‘Βάκχε, μάτην ποθέεις, μὴ δίζεο παρθένον Αὔρην.’ ‘Bacchos, your desire is vain; seek not for maiden Aura.’

The basic situation is to some extent similar in nos. 19 and 20. Dionysus in both cases wishes to hear the voice of his beloved. In no. 19, his beloved Ampelus has died, and Dionysus wants to hear his voice to give him comfort, whereas in no. 20 his beloved Aura refuses all contact and Dionysus even wishes to hear a rejection, if only she would want to speak to him. The embedded speech of the dead Ampelus (7 lines) is the longest embedded speech in the *Dionysiaca* that falls under the category of hypothetical speeches.

71 Closer to potential τις-speech in style and concept are the three examples of embedded potential speeches of a specifically mentioned person (not τις), that can be found in the *Iliad* (8.148–150: Diomedes imagining the reaction of Hector, 16.830–842: Hector imagining Achilles' address to Patroclus and 22.496–498: Andromache imagining the words a happier boy would speak to her son Astyanax).

Exceptions:

21.	35.48–53 Indian soldier to dead Bacchante	σῶν γλυκερῶν στομάτων ἵνα, παρθένε, μῦθον ἀκούσω | ⟨.........................⟩ | τοῖον ἔπος βοόωσα·	‘Κυλινδομένην ἐπὶ γαίῃ, ἣν κτάνες, ἣν σύλησας, ἀτάσθαλε, κάλλιπε κούρην· ἣν σέο χαλκὸς ἔταμνεν, ἐμοῦ μὴ ψαῦε χιτῶνος· τί κρατέεις κενεῶνα, τὸν οὔτασας; ἴσχεο δειλῆς ἀμφαφόων ἐμὸν ἕλκος, ὅ μοι πόρες.’ ‘You killed me, you plundered me, rolling upon the ground! Then let a girl be, scoundrel. Touch not my tunic, when your steel has cut me! Why do you hold the side which you have wounded? Stroke no more the cruel wound which you gave me!’
22.	16.363–364 Nicaea, Pitys and Daphne	οὐ Πίτυς ἐψιθύριζε καὶ οὐκ ἐφθέγξατο Δάφνη·	‘Παρθενική, πεφύλαξο πιεῖν ἀπατήλιον ὕδωρ’ ‘Maiden, beware, drink not the deceiving water!’

Two exceptions also have to be treated here. Instead of being introduced by a verb of speaking, like all other embedded speeches, no. 21 is introduced by the first person of a verb of hearing (ἀκούσω) and a participle (βοόωσα). Unfortunately, parts of the introduction have disappeared in a lacuna.[72] Although introduced in this different way, the embedded speech of a dead Bacchante in this example is similar to the speech of the dead Ampelus. Here, just like Dionysus in no. 19, an Indian soldier craves to hear his dead beloved speak. Both relatively elaborate embedded speeches could in fact also be read as miniature ethopoeae, or better eidolopoeae, of the dead beloved ones. On the other hand, there is also a certain resemblance to no. 20. Just like Dionysus in no. 20, the soldier in no. 21 wishes to hear even a rejection of his love.[73]

No. 22 is the only real exception. It is not a potential speech which may or may not be pronounced in the future but a contrafactual speech that should have been spoken in the past but was not. Nicaea blames the pine (the Nymph Pitys) and the laurel (the Nymph Daphne) for not warning her about Dionysus' wine and quotes the words they, unfortunately for her, did not say.

72 Frangoulis 2006a, 118, see also under 1.3.1, n. 60.

73 Compare also the introductory formula to both embedded speeches: φίλοις στομάτεσσιν (no. 20) and γλυκερῶν στομάτων (no. 21). For a full discussion of the speech of the Indian soldier, see 1.3.1.

3.3 Hypothetical Speech, a “Nonnian” Device

A number of general observations can now be made regarding the use of hypothetical embedded speech in Nonnus. Firstly, I think I have sufficiently demonstrated that we can speak of a revival of the Homeric device of potential τις-speech in Nonnus. Nonnus’ many-faceted imitation of Homer clearly also includes the appropriation of this particular mode of expression. By adopting the potential τις-speech, Nonnus engages in a dialogue with his literary forebear, but he also clearly moulds the device to his will and uses it primarily as a stylistic device, rhetorically elaborating on oppositions and paradoxes. Being pronounced by a truly anonymous τις, the learned comparisons and pointed conclusions introduced in the potential τις-speeches, moreover, seem to have more authority than those put in the mouths of κακώτεροι in Homer.

Secondly, by adding four more types of hypothetical embedded speeches to the already extensive list of potential τις-speeches, I have tried to show both the abundance and the variety of these short speeches within speeches in Nonnus. It is a remarkable characteristic of Nonnus’ epic style, to which hardly any attention has been paid in scholarly research. Not only is Nonnus, to my knowledge, unprecedented in his frequent use of such hypothetical embedded speeches; he is also not imitated in this aspect by his closest imitators, Musaeus and Colluthus.

The speeches within speeches in Nonnus clearly combine elements from different traditions. Whereas potential τις-speech is an originally epic feature, in disuse after Homer, the type of speech introduced by ἀλλ’ ἐρέεις· (procatalepsis) is part of the rhetorical tradition. In Nonnus, these two features become, to a large extent, interchangeable, both as regards their argumentative value and their stylistic effect.

The three other “new” types I have described in this chapter do not seem to belong to any specific tradition, as hardly any precedents can be found. In most cases they share the stylistic characteristics of Nonnus’ potential τις-speeches: they are often clever one-liners, emphasizing contrasts through wordplay.

Apart from the argumentative function of the embedded hypothetical speeches (when they occur in persuasive speeches), it is also important to note their stylistic function as an extra element of πάθος. This is especially the case for the “third person ‘desired’ speeches” (7.2.4) and the “messenger requests” to nature (7.2.2). The desperation and loneliness of the speaker are emphasized by quoting words which most probably will never become reality. Paradoxically, the uttering of the words makes them become even more unreal.

PART 2

Rhetoric and Narrative

CHAPTER 4

The Rhetoric of Deception: Persuasive Strategies

As Katerina Carvounis pointed out in her recent article on persuasion in Nonnus (2014, 21) the emphasis in scholarly research on the limited amount of dialogue in the *Dionysiaca*, the influence of progymnasmata and the many soliloquies may give the impression that speech in Nonnus generally remains without consequences for the plot. She vehemently argues that speeches, and more specifically persuasive speeches, are actually also quite regularly used by the narrator to set things in motion. "In fact, the plot of the epic is often activated by speeches that aim to persuade the addressee to follow a particular course of action by means of verbal argumentation." I hope that, by now, I have already demonstrated that speeches in Nonnus are certainly not entirely deprived of this important role (see especially under 1.1 and 1.2), but also that, in comparison with earlier epic, other types of speech have gained importance, which are of equal structural importance, but do not necessarily set new actions in motion.

In this chapter, I will especially focus on the "means of verbal argumentation" highlighted by Carvounis, and in order to do so, I have chosen to focus on a group of speeches which are marked by the narrator as wily, misleading or false. For the sake of clarity I will use "deceptive" and "deception" as generic terms to refer to the broader semantic field. Lies, tricks and manipulation are, of course, genuinely epic themes from Homer onwards and, as has already been demonstrated by Ronald Newbold (2010, 85), these themes are also omnipresent in the *Dionysiaca*. He counts no less than 407 instances of words within the semantic field of deception. With this chapter, I intend to make further investigation of what I have already pointed out in chapter 1, namely that speeches that are marked as deceptive by the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* in many cases are not deceptive in the sense that they are telling lies, but rather manipulative in their clever use of rhetoric.

The example of Hera's persuasive strategy in the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode (see 1.1.1–2) has revealed an intriguing difference between Homer and Nonnus in this respect. Whereas Hera in the *Iliad* persuades Aphrodite with lies (*Il.* 14.198–210) and Hypnus with the promise of a large reward (*Il.* 14.264–269), in the rewritten Διὸς ἀπάτη of the *Dionysiaca* both deities are persuaded by arguments. These arguments are, moreover, clearly supported by the speaker's ἦθος and emotional appeals (πάθος) to the addressee's sympathy (resp. in *D.* 31.229–282 and 31.136–190).

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This chapter will further develop these observations by analysing the persuasive strategies of a larger group of "deceptive" speeches, for which the lines introducing the speech, with a reference to its manipulative or deceptive character, will be used as a means of selection, thus leaving it to the Nonnian narrator to decide what is deceptive or not. The first part of the chapter further elaborates on this selection procedure and presents a discussion of the full corpus as well as a first example analysed in detail. The large number of speeches in this group pronounced by a divinity "in the guise" of another divinity or mortal are given separate attention in the second part, which creates the opportunity to treat the question of how this disguise enables the speaker to adopt a more suitable moral character to achieve persuasion. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, I will analyse a remarkable sequence of three deceptive speeches in book 8 of the *Dionysiaca*, leading to Semele's death by Zeus' lightning.

4.1 Deceptive Speeches

Unlike the categories of speech discussed in the other chapters of this book, deceptive speeches cannot so easily be distinguished from other speeches by content (cf. chapter 2, battle exhortations) or by formal characteristics (cf. chapter 3, embedded speeches). Therefore it is necessary in this case to take a closer look at the context of the speech. Especially the information provided by the narrator is interesting. Very often, he hints at the intentions or emotional nature of the speech before quoting it. The narrator's introduction to the speech, moreover, sets the reader's expectation patterns concerning it and thus contributes to its interpretation by the reader. This is, of course, not a new phenomenon, as I have already pointed out with respect to the speech formula introducing Odysseus' well-balanced rhetorical *captatio benevolentiae* to Nausicaa and its interpretation in the ancient *scholia*.[1] However, whereas in Homer, a speech by Odysseus is, for example, most often introduced with "and thus spoke *crafty* Odysseus" (προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς, 8× in the *Iliad*, 60× in the *Odyssey*) irrespective of whether he is about to tell one of his famous lying tales (for example in *Od.* 19.164) or whether he is bluntly revealing the truth (as, for example, in *Od.* 22.34), in Nonnus, as I will try to demonstrate, the introduction formulas are composed in function of the speech's content to such an extent that they can here serve as a criterion to distinguish the group

1 See above under "Introduction" p. 36 and n. 92.

of rhetorically manipulative speeches that will be analysed in this chapter.[2] What especially interest me here, after all, is what Nonnus' narrator casts as deceptive.

4.1.1 *Defining the Corpus*

As I have explained earlier, a typical feature of speech formulas in Nonnus is that, very often, a meaningful adjective is attributed to the noun for "speech", "story" or "voice".[3] Consequently, for this case study, I have first listed the adjectives within the semantic field of deception that are used in this specific position, which resulted in a list of eleven different adjectives[4] and in a corpus of a total of twenty-one cases in which these adjectives are used to introduce a speech. Of course, the eleven adjectives on my list are not all exact synonyms and represent different nuances on the scale between "clever" and "deceptive", but, essentially, the message conveyed through them is very similar: they mark a speech, to a certain degree, as manipulative.[5]

In eight other cases (marked with an * in the list below), not the speech itself but the speaker and/or the speaker's disguise are characterized as deceitful in the lines preceding the speech (not necessarily restricted to the introductory formula).[6] Because this is an equally important part of the contextualization

2 Also for Apollonius (Hunter 1988, 46–47) and Colluthus (Cadau 2015, 196) it has been pointed out that certain introduction formulas serve to warn the narratee for the deceitfulness of the speech that is about to be quoted.

3 For the periphrastic construction of the introduction formulas in Nonnus, see above (p. 35) and D'Ippolito 2003.

4 These eleven adjectives are, ordered alphabetically: ἀπατήλιος (2), ἀπατήνωρ (1), δόλιος/δολόεις (5), δολοπλόκος (1), δολόφρων (4), ἐπίκλοπος (1), ἠπεροπηΐς (2), κλεψίνοος (3), πολύτροπος (2), φρενοθελγής (1) and ψευδήμων (1). Between brackets the number of occurences is mentioned. Most of these adjectives also appear on the list of Newbold (2010, 86), whose lexical search for words indicating "deception" encompassed the *Dionysiaca* as a whole. One of the more conspicuous adjectives is πολύτροπος, which can be interpreted in different ways (Liddell and Scott 1996[9]: "wily", but also "much wandering" and "manifold") but is also associated with Odysseus who may be regarded as the archetypical epic liar.

5 Carvounis (2014, 22–23) interestingly, also mentions how the narrator signals a persuasive speech in its capping formula ὣς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν (5×), ὣς φαμένη παρέπεισε (9×) or εἶπε, καὶ οὐ παρέπεισε (2×). She also notes that speeches of persuasion are "often associated with deception" and mentions nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, 12, 15 and 23 from our list as examples thereof.

6 I briefly list all the references: 10.195: not the speech, but the speaker, who uses a disguise, is described as δολοπλόκος in the introduction formula, 20.192–194: not the speech, but the speaker's disguise is described as κερδαλέος, 26.7: it is mentioned that the speaker, who is in disguise as a "counterfeit vision of a false dream" (δολίοιο […] ὀνείρου) deceives (παρήπαφεν)

of the speech by the narrator, I decided also to include these speeches in my corpus. This manner of selection results in a list of in total 29 speeches, as follows:

1.	Cadmus	1.486–506 (21)	to Typhon	as a shepherd	goal: distract Typhon and regain weapons
2.	Nike	2.209–236 (28)	to Zeus	as Leto	goal: ***exhort to battle***
3.	Aphrodite	4.77–176 (100)	to Harmonia	as Peisinoe	goal: make Harmonia love Cadmus
4.	Phthonus	8.50–102 (53)	to Hera	as Ares	goal: make Hera envy Semele
5.	Hera	8.126–164 (10)	to Apate	/	goal: acquire cestus
6.	Hera	8.207–263 (57)	to Semele	as nurse	goal: make Semele envy Hera
7.	*Dionysus	10.196–216 (21)	to Ampelus	as mortal	goal: *flatter Ampelus*
8.	Ate	11.118–154 (37)	to Ampelus	as boy	goal: make Ampelus jealous
9.	*Iris	20.196–221 (26)	to Lycurgus	as Ares	goal: ***exhort to battle***
10.	Iris	20.266–288 (23)	to Dionysus	as Hermes	goal: make Dionysus friendly towards Lycurgus
11.	*Athena	26.10–35 (26)	to Deriades	as Orontes	goal: ***exhort to battle***
12.	Eeria	26.121–133 (13)	to guards		goal: enter her father's cell
13.	*Rhea	29.328–361 (34)	to Ares	as dream	goal: make Ares leave battle
14.	Hera	31.32–69 (38)	to Persephone		goal: incite Persephone against Dionysus
15.	Iris	31.136–190 (55)	to Hypnus	as Nyx	goal: incite Hypnus against Dionysus

the addressee, 29.326: the speaker (a false vision) is described as δολοπλόκος, 32.46: the speaker is described as πολυμήχανος, 35.109: the narrator mentions that, by pronouncing the speech, the speaker deceives (ἠπερόπευε) the addressee, 42.280: the character of the speaker is described as ἤθεσι κερδαλέοισι, and finally 42.315: the speaker is said to be using ruse after ruse (ἀλλὰ δόλῳ δόλον ἄλλον ἐπέφραδεν).

16.	Aphrodite	31.212–227 (16)	to Hera		goal: **make Hera reveal her sorrows**
17.	Hera	31.229–282 (54)	to Aphrodite		goal: acquire cestus
18.	*Hera	32.48–58 (11)	to Zeus	dressed up	goal: seduce and lull Zeus asleep
19.	Aglaea	33.109–113 (22)	to Eros		goal: make Eros worry about Aphrodite
20.	Aphrodite	33.149–179 (31)	to Eros		goal: incite Eros against Indians
21.	Hyssacus	34.27–47 (21)	to Morrheus		goal: **make Morrheus reveal his sorrows**
22.	visionary dream	34.92–98 (7)	to Morrheus	as Chalcomede	goal: make Morrheus believe Chalcomede loves him
23.	*Chalcomede	35.111–138 (28)	to Morrheus		goal: make Morrheus disarm himself
24.	Athena	40.11–30 (20)	to Deriades	as Morrheus	goal: ***exhort to battle***
25.	Aphrodite	41.408–427 (20)	to Eros		goal: persuade Eros to help her
26.	Dionysus	42.158–163 (6)	to Beroe		goal: *seduce Beroe*
27.	*Dionysus	42.282–312 (31)	to Beroe	as a gardener	goal: *seduce Beroe*
28.	*Dionysus	42.319–321 (3)	to Beroe		goal: *seduce Beroe*
29.	Dionysus	45.246–251 (6)	to Pentheus	as servant	goal: make Pentheus believe that the bull is Dionysus.

In the right-most column, I have tried to capture in a few words the "manipulative goal" of each speech as it can be derived from the context. A few remarks are, however, necessary because this manipulative aspect is not always equally apparent.

Four of the so-called "deceptive speeches" are in fact battle exhortations (***bold italic***), which have already been discussed in chapter 2 under 2.2.2 "exhortation by gods (in disguise)". But why are these four marked by the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* as deceptive? In the case of the two exhortations of Athena

to Deriades (nos. 11 and 24), the answer is straightforward. The goddess is, in fact, a faithful supporter of her brother Dionysus,[7] and she exhorts her impatient brother's enemy only to speed up Dionysus' path to victory. Her speeches are deceptive and manipulative in the sense that she pretends to support but actually moves against her addressee. Nonnus clearly imitates Athena's ruse (*Il.* 22.247: κερδοσύνῃ) in *Iliad* 22, where she takes the shape of Hector's brother Deiphobus to persuade Hector to fight Achilles man to man.[8]

The label of "deceptive", however, seems less appropriate for the speeches of Nike (no. 2) and Iris (no. 9),[9] who both have no hidden agenda towards their addressee.[10] The manipulative element referred to by the narrator seems to lie in their disguise and the personae (of Leto and Ares respectively) they adopt in their speeches, which enable them to use arguments that could only be made by a concerned mother (Leto) or a bellicose father (Ares).[11] In the second part of this chapter, I will further elaborate on the function of the disguise as a means to increase the emotional impact of the speech on the addressee and give more authority to certain arguments. Of the entire list of 29 speeches, 16 are pronounced "in disguise", most often by a god or goddess in the guise of a mortal or a different deity.[12] A clear correlation between the two features of disguise and deception can be noted: not only are 55% of all "deceptive"

7 Athena appears in the poem as a helper of Cadmus (4.389–408) and of Dionysus' fellow combatants Aeacus and Erechtheus (22.255–262, 24.95–96 and 37.317–323) and is asked by Zeus to openly support her brother in 27.278–307. In 30.258–292 she exhorts Dionysus.

8 Cf. also no. 10 (Iris to Dionysus) and the discussion of this speech as an inverse exhortation in chapter 2.4.3.1.

9 These speeches are marked as deceptive by the use of the adjectives κλεψίνοος and πολύτροπος respectively.

10 In the conflict between Zeus and Typhon, Nike logically sides with the Olympians. Iris works by order of Hera and thus supports the enemy of Dionysus.

11 The same could in fact be said about three other exhortations not mentioned in the above overview: by Hera (as Melaneus) to Astraeis (14.309–314), Eris (as Rhea) to Dionysus (20.44–98) and Hera (as Melampus) to Perseus (47.537–566), all examples of exhortations by gods in disguise (see under 2.2.2). Especially in Eris' speech, the argumentation (why Dionysus should win the war) is closely connected to the persona of Rhea (he has to bring glory to his foster mother Rhea). In these three cases, however, there is no reference to "deception" in the narrator text. Although the distinction may seem arbitrary, these three cases are, therefore, not included in my list, which is strictly based on the characterization of the speech by the narrator.

12 Not included in these 16 is speech 18 (32.48–58). Hera, when deceiving Zeus, is of course not speaking in the guise of another god or goddess, but an important part of her deception of Zeus lies in the efforts she has made to dress up and look appealing (carrying

speeches spoken by a character in disguise, 76 % of all speeches in disguise (16 of all 21) are marked as "deceptive".[13]

Equally remarkable is the presence of four speeches in this list which are pronounced in an amatory context and seem to have as their only goal to win the heart of the beloved rather than to deceive (nos. 7 and 26–28, *marked in italic*). The narrator in these cases seems to draw the reader's attention to the feigned ignorance of the courting Dionysus, who pretends to take Ampelus and Beroe for a god/goddess (nos. 7 and 26, marked as "deceptive" by the adjectives δολοπλόκος and ψευδήμων) and admires Beroe's weapons as if they were god-made (no. 28, with in 42.315: δόλῳ δόλον ἄλλον ἐπέρραφεν), thus elegantly complimenting his beloved. Before he pronounces speech no. 27, Dionysus, moreover, disguises himself "cunningly" (42.280: ἤθεσι κερδαλέοισι) as a gardener to hide the indecent proposals in his speech to Beroe behind nature metaphors. Dionysus' clever but unsuccessful courting speeches to Beroe will be discussed at length in chapter 6.

Finally, the interrogation techniques of Aphrodite and Hyssacus (nos. 16 and 21, **marked in bold**) are also marked by the narrator as, respectively, πολύτροπος (31.212) and ἀπατήλιος (34.25). Here, this label presumably refers to the manipulative techniques used to interrogate their addressee in order to discover the true reason for their strange behaviour.[14] In the case of Aphrodite (no. 21), however, Hera's sadness is faked and part of her strategy to convince Aphrodite to help her (no. 22): the wily Aphrodite is tricked by an even craftier Hera![15]

The remaining nineteen speeches on our list are spoken in connection with a ruse. Cadmus' deceptive flattery of Typhon plays an important role in the wily plan of Zeus, Eros and Cadmus to regain the weapons of Zeus (no. 1). Aphrodite's speech to Harmonia is a cunning intervention to make Harmonia agree to marry Cadmus (no. 3). Hera tricks Semele into asking Zeus for a

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Aphrodite's cestus to intensify this effect). She has changed her appearance in order to manipulate her addressee with maximum effect.

13 Only five speeches "in disguise" are not marked as deceptive. Three of these five are the battle exhortations mentioned in n. 11 above. The other two are Eros' consolation speech (in the guise of a Satyr) to Dionysus in 11.356–481 and a speech of warning by a local Hamadryad (in the guise of a Bacchante) to Dionysus in 22.90–113. In these last two cases the disguise functions as a means to blend into the environment of Dionysus' entourage and seems not to have a rhetorical function. On the correlation between disguise, persuasion and deception, see also Carvounis 2014, 21–22.

14 Compare 8.207–263 (Hera to Semele, speech no. 6) or 48.392–413 (Nemesis to Artemis, not on the list). See also above under 1.1.1.

15 Or, as it is put by the narrator (32.1–2): δολοφράδμων δ' Ἀφροδίτη | πείθετο κερδοσύνῃσιν "Aphrodite, the mistress of wiles, obeyed the cunning request". See also above under 1.1.1.

token of his love, which will eventually kill her (no. 4–6). Ate tricks Ampelus into riding a bull which will eventually kill him (no. 8). Iris deceitfully convinces Dionysus to approach Lycurgus unarmed, which leads to a painful defeat (no. 10). Eeria uses a ruse to keep her imprisoned father alive by breastfeeding him (no. 12). Rhea sends a deceptive dream to Ares to keep him away from the battlefield (no. 13). Hera sets up a conspiracy to lull Zeus asleep and meanwhile strike Dionysus down with madness (nos. 14–15 and 17–18). Afterwards, Aphrodite thinks of an equally crafty countermove (nos. 19–20 and 22–23). Later, she cleverly secures a mighty and divine husband for her daughter by making both Poseidon and Dionysus fall in love with her (no. 25). And, finally, Dionysus deceives Pentheus by giving him a bull and making him believe it is Dionysus (no. 29).

Although purely based on a lexical search for references to "deception" in speech introductions, my list seems to give an almost exhaustive account of all the ruses narrated in the *Dionysiaca*, which could be taken as "proof" that the introduction formulas have been a reasonably effective criterion of selection.[16] The ruse leading to the rape of Aura, is the only one I can think of which is conspicuously 'missing' from our list. This absence can easily be explained because Aura is not tricked into drinking by means of a manipulative speech but rather drawn to the source of wine by a higher force, which is rendered symbolically in an epigrammatic two-liner pronounced by Peitho as the personification of persuasion (48.597–598).[17]

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16 Drawing a clear line between manipulative and non-manipulative speeches remains, to a large extent, a matter of interpretation. The introduction formulas are important indicators, as I hope to have indicated, but are sometimes open to interpretation themselves. One could, for example, also take a closer look at the verbs used in these formulas. One phrase that is frequently used by Nonnus as an introduction formula is (φιλίῳ) μειλίξατο μύθῳ (14× in the *Dionysiaca*, 4× in the *Paraphrase*). Two variants of this formula δολίῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ (8.124) and ἠπεροπῆι τόσῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ (11.116) have been included in my list. Does the choice of the verb μειλίσσω (Liddell and Scott 1996^9, 1093: "make mild, appease, propitiate, use soothing words") in these cases also hint at the false friendliness and hidden intentions of the speaker? If so, can the same conclusion then also be drawn for other examples where (φιλίῳ) μειλίξατο μύθῳ is used to introduce a persuasive speech, for example when Hera is addressing the thunderbolts of Zeus in preparation of her ruse against Semele (8.269) or when Hermes is convincing Ino to take care of baby Dionysus (9.59)? Because (φιλίῳ) μειλίξατο μύθῳ is used in many different contexts (introducing e.g. consolation speeches), I have decided not to include μειλίσσω in my lexical search.

17 48.594–598: ἀλλ' ὅτε Βακχείην ἀπατήλιον ἔδρακε πηγήν, | δὴ τότε οἱ βλεφάρων σκιόεν νέφος ἤλασε Πειθώ, | τοῖον ἔπος βοόωσα γάμου πρωτάγγελον Αὔρῃ· | 'παρθενική, μόλε δεῦρο, τελεσσι-

Notwithstanding the signposting by the narrator of their deceptive character and the role these speeches play in the development of a ruse, only in a minority of these nineteen speeches, however, does the speaker make use of lies to deceive his/her addressee. Only seven of them actually contain factual lies:[18]

(1) Cadmus (no. 2) lies to Typhon that the strings (1.493: νεῦρα) of his harp were burnt to dust by Zeus in order to regain the stolen "strings of Zeus" (1.511: νεῦρα Διός).
(2) Iris (no. 10) lies to Dionysus about Lycurgus' supposedly friendly and hospitable attitude.
(3) Rhea (no. 13) lies to Ares about Aphrodite's return to Hephaestus.
(4) Hera (no. 17) lies to Zeus that she is heading for the house of Thetys in order to recall Eros to his duty, who is at the time courting Rhodope (cf. Hera's lying tale to Zeus in *Il.* 14.301–311).
(5) Aglaea (no. 19) lies to Eros that Aphrodite has been abandoned by her companions.
(6) In a dream, a false Chalcomede (no. 22) affirms her love to Morrheus.
(7) Dionysus lies to Pentheus (no. 29) that he has captured Dionysus, while he is actually holding a bull.

From the rhetorical point of view, the remaining twelve speeches,[19] are however more interesting. In these cases (as well as in the exhortations and amatory speeches discussed above) persuasion is largely achieved by rhetorical means, convincing the addressee either to act in a way that will eventually have (harmful) consequences for him- or herself,[20] or to collaborate with the speaker (mostly on unequal terms) in planning a ruse against a third person.[21] It is this

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γάμοιο δὲ πηγῆς | εἰς στόμα δέξο ῥέεθρα, καὶ εἰς σέο κόλπον ἀκοίτην.' "But when she saw the deceitful fountain of Bacchos, Peitho dispersed the shadowy cloud from her eyelids, and called out to Aura like a herald of her marriage—'Maiden, com this way! Take into your lips the stream of this nuptial fountain, and into your bosom a lover.'" It is the source of the wine that is called ἀπατήλιος, not the speech by Peitho.

18 I here make the distinction between factual lies (compare Odysseus' Cretan lying tales in *Od.* 14.192–359, 462–506, 17.415–444, 19.165–202, 221–248 and 262–307) and the adoption of a false persona (gods appearing in disguise) as discussed above, see also below under 4.2.

19 Twelve speeches, namely nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 23 and 25 on our list.

20 The addressee of the speech is also the "victim" of the ruse in nos. 3, 6, 8, 12 and 23.

21 The addressee is manipulated into collaborating in the ruse in nos. 4, 5, 14, 15, 17, 20 and 25.

group of speeches that I will focus on in the remainder of this chapter, which contains a detailed analysis of nos. 2, 4–6 and 8.

4.1.2 *Manipulation at Work*

I conclude my overview with a brief analysis of one fine example of such a manipulative speech. Ate, the personification of Ampelus' fatal decision (ἄτη), addresses him (no. 8, 11.118–154) in order to convince him to ride a wild bull, a daring enterprise which will cost him his life. From the lines preceding the speech we learn that θανατηφόρος Ate (11.113) seizes the moment when she sees that Ampelus is on his own (11.113–114: εἰσορόωσα […] ἀποπλαγχθέντα Λυαίου), that she addresses him in the guise of a boy of the same age (11.115: ἠιθέου χαρίεντος ὁμοίιος ἥλικι κούρῳ), and finally that she acts, if not as an agent of Hera, then at least to do the goddess a favour by harming the lover of her enemy Dionysus (11.117: μητρυιῇ Φρυγίοιο χαριζομένη Διονύσου). The guise of a young boy seems chosen to win Ampelus' trust, while the mentioning of her "true identity" as Ate (Blind Folly) could be seen as a warning to the narratee of the poem of the fatal consequences of her speech.[22] In narratological terms, her disguise thus has an argument function (= within the world of the story), whereas her true identity has a key function (= on the level of the communication between narrator and narratee).[23]

In line 11.116, finally, her speech is introduced as deceptive (Ἄμπελον ἠπεροπῆι τόσῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ).

Σὸς φίλος, ἄτρομε κοῦρε, μάτην Διόνυσος ἀκούει.
Ποῖον ἑταιρείης γέρας ἔλλαχες; οὐ σὺ Λυαίου
θέσκελον ἅρμα φέρεις, οὐ πόρδαλιν ἡνιοχεύεις.
Δίφρα τεοῦ Βρομίοιο Μάρων λάχεν, ⟨ἅρμα⟩ τιταίνων
θηρονόμῳ μάστιγι καὶ εὐλάιγγι χαλινῷ.
Ποῖον ἔχεις ποτὲ δῶρον ἀπ' εὐθύρσοιο Λυαίου;
Πηκτίδα Πᾶνες ἔχουσι καὶ εὐκελάδων θρόον αὐλῶν,

22 Ate as a personification causing a fatal decision appears for example in *Il.* 19.91, but never as a speaking character. After Ate's speech in Nonnus, she disappears in a godly fashion (capping formula on 11.155: ὣς φαμένη παρέπεισε, καὶ ἠέρα δύσατο δαίμων), without any further mention of her mortal disguise. It is remarkable that in the final part of her speech (esp. 11.149: ὑψιφανῆ τελέσω σε βοοσσόον ἡνιοχῆα) she no longer seems to be speaking as a young boy, but rather as a goddess. Compare with the speeches analysed below under 4.2 and 4.3 for examples in which the disguise is used in a more consistent fashion.

23 For the concepts of "argument function" versus "key function" see Andersen 1987 and de Jong and Nünlist 2000, 160.

καὶ Σατύροις πόρε κύκλον ἐρισμαράγοιο βοείης
σὸς ταμίης Διόνυσος, ὀρεστιάδες δὲ καὶ αὐταί
Βασσαρίδες ῥαχίῃσιν ἐφεδρήσσουσι λεόντων.
Ποῖα τεῆς φιλότητος ἐπάξια δῶρα κομίζεις,
πορδαλίων ἐλατῆρι μάτην πεφιλημένε Βάκχῳ;
Πολλάκι Φοιβείοιο καθήμενος ὑψόθι δίφρου
ὑψιφανὴς ἤλαυνεν Ἀτύμνιος ἠέρα τέμνων·
Ἔκλυες αὐτὸν Ἄβαριν, ὃν εἰς δρόμον ἠεροφοίτην
ἱπταμένῳ πόμπευεν ἀλήμονι Φοῖβος ὀιστῷ.
Αἰετὸν ἡνιόχευεν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ Γανυμήδης
Ζῆνα νόθον πτερόεντα, τεοῦ γενετῆρα Λυαίου·
Ἄμπελον οὔ ποτε Βάκχος ἐκούφισεν ὄρνις Ἐρώτων,
σὸν δέμας ἁδρύπτοισιν ἑοῖς ὀνύχεσσιν ἀείρων.
Τρώιος οἰνοχόος πέλε φέρτερος, ὃς Διὸς αὐλήν
οἶκον ἔχει.—Σὺ δέ, κοῦρε, φέρων πόθον εἰσέτι δίφρου
εἰς δρόμον ἀστήρικτον ἀναίνεο πῶλον ἐλαύνειν,
ὅττι πολυστροφάλιγγι ποδῶν δεδονημένος ὁλκῷ
ἵππος ἀελλήεις ἀποσείεται ἡνιοχῆα·
Γλαῦκον ἀπεστυφέλιξαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ λυσσάδες ἵπποι·
καὶ ξυνῆς μεθέπων Ποσιδήιον αἷμα γενέθλης
ἠερόθεν προκάρηνον ἀπόσπορον Ἐννοσιγαίου
Πήγασος ὠκυπέτης ἀπεσείσατο Βελλεροφόντην.—
Δεῦρό μοι εἰς ἀγέλην, λιγυηχέες ἦχι νομῆες
καὶ βόες ἱμερόεντες, ἐφεδρήσσοντα δὲ ταύρῳ
ὑψιφανῆ τελέσω σε βοοσσόον ἡνιοχῆα·
σὸς γὰρ ἄναξ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπαινήσει σε δοκεύων,
ταυροφυὴς Διόνυσος, ἐφήμενον ἰξύι ταύρου.
νόσφι φόβου δρόμος οὗτος, ἐπεὶ καὶ θῆλυς ἐοῦσα
παρθένος Εὐρώπη βοέων ἐπεβήσατο νώτων,
χερσὶ κέρας κρατέουσα καὶ οὐ χατέουσα χαλινοῦ.

Your friend, fearless boy, is called Dionysos for nothing! What honour have you got from your friendship? You do not guide the divine car of Lyaios, you do not drive a panther! Your Bromios's chariot has fallen to Maron's lot, he manages the chariot with the beast-ruling whip and the jewelstudded reins. What gift did you ever get from Lyaios of the thyrsus? The Pans have their cithern and their melodious tootling pipes; the Satyrs have the round loudrattling tomtom from your patron Dionysos; even the mountainranging Bassarids ride on the backs of lions. What gifts have you received worthy of your love, you, loved for nothing by Bacchos the

> driver of panthers? Atymnios has often been seen on high in the chariot of Phoibos cutting the air; Abaris also you have heard of, whom Phoibos through the air perched on his winged roving arrow. Ganymedes also rode an eagle in the sky, a changeling Zeus with wings, the begetter of your Lyaios. But Bacchos never became a lovebird or carried Ampelos, lifting your body with talons that would not tear. The Trojan winepourer had the better of you—he is at home in the court of Zeus. Now my boy, look here: but you are still kept waiting for the chariot, so just refuse to drive a nervous colt on the road—a horse goes rattling along like a tempest on a whirlwind of legs, and shakes out the driver. Glaucos's horses went mad and threw him out on the ground. Quickwing Pegasos threw Bellerophontes and sent him headlong down from the sky, although he was of the seed of the Earthshaker and the horse himself shared the kindred blood of Poseidon. Come this way, do, to the herd, where are the clear-piping drovers and lovely cattle—get on a bull, and I will make you conspicuous on his back as the man who can ride a wild bull! Then your bull-body king Dionysos will applaud you more loudly, if he sees you with a bull between your knees! There is nothing to fear in such a run; Europa was a female, a young girl, and she had a ride on bull-back, held tight to the horn and asked for no reins.

Ate's rhetorically balanced speech consists of two parts (11.118–139 and 139–154).[24] In the first part, the statement made in the first line of the speech, namely that Dionysus cannot truly be called Ampelus' friend (118: Σὸς φίλος, ἄτρομε κοῦρε, μάτην Διόνυσος ἀκούει) is rhetorically elaborated upon. Ate argues that Dionysus treats his beloved Ampelus improperly and demonstrates this with two series of mythological parallels.[25] The first series of parallels shows that others, with a different (lower) status (friends, but not lovers like Ampelus) receive more privileges from Dionysus (121–129). The second series shows that others, with a status similar to Ampelus (beloved boys of a deity), also receive certain privileges from their benefactors which are denied to Ampelus (130–139).

24 See also Vian 1995, 7 ("Le discours d'Até est habilement construit") and Gigli Piccardi 2003, 760–761.

25 See also Miguélez Cavero 2008, 281–282 who uses this speech as an example of the use of (catalogues of) mythological exempla as rhetorical arguments in Nonnus' speeches. Miguélez Cavero 2008, 282: "In most cases they are standard elements from the stock acquired during the lessons of the γραμματικός and the rhetor, and they are not developed, just mentioned as a part of the code shared by poet and reader."

In Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, this type of argument is described as "apposite or comparative":

> Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.86: adposita vel comparativa dicuntur quae minora ex maioribus, maiora ex minoribus, paria ex paribus.
>
> Those arguments which prove the lesser from the greater or the greater from the less or equals from equals are styled *apposite or comparative*.
> transl. BUTLER 1977[2]

The distinction made in Quintilian between comparative arguments proving "the greater from the less" or "equals from equals" allows us to distinguish between the first argument and the second: Ampelus, because of his status as a lover, should receive more privileges than Dionysus' other friends (*maiora ex minoribus*) and equal privileges to the ones other beloved boys get from their lovers (*paria ex paribus*). The subtle selection of mythological exempla, moreover, not only serves to make Ampelus feel wronged by Dionysus, but as almost all exempla refer to privileges concerning the riding of animals or the driving of the gods' chariots,[26] they also already prepare the second part of the speech in which Ate will convince Ampelus to ride a bull in order to impress Dionysus.

After thus having subtly roused in Ampelus the desire for a spectacular ride, Ate, now taking Ampelus' jealousy and also this specific desire for granted (139: Σὺ δέ, κοῦρε, φέρων πόθον εἰσέτι δίφρου), advises him in the second part of her speech which animal to choose to ride on, again dividing her arguments into two parts. Cleverly, she first advises against a horse ride (140–146), to make a bull ride look more appealing in the second part (147–154). Again the mythological exempla are carefully selected for their persuasive effect. Glaucus (of Potniae)[27] and Bellerophon are cited as unsuccessful horse riders to emphasize the danger of this practice, whereas Europa is cited as an example of how easy and, above all, safe a ride on a bull's back can be. Whereas the stories of Glaucus and Bellerophon, both heroes of repute being thrown from their horses, aptly indicate the dangers of horse riding for the young and not so heroic Ampelus

26 121–122: Maron driving Dionysus' chariot, 127: Bacchantes riding lions, [129: Dionysus riding leopards,] 131: Atymnius riding in Apollo's chariot, 132–133: Abaris flying on Apollo's arrow and 134: Ganymedes riding the eagle.

27 In the most common version of the story, Glaucus' (son of Sisyphus) mares grew wild as a punishment from Aphrodite because he kept them from mating in order to keep them faster for the races (Sherf 1998).

(*minora ex maioribus*), the example of Europa, a girl (152: ἐπεὶ καὶ θῆλυς ἐοῦσα), clearly indicates the feasibility of a bull ride for Ampelus (*maiora ex minoribus*).

Whereas this is the interpretation suggested to the naïve Ampelus, the example of Europa riding on the bull, of course, also calls up other (erotic) connotations, which—probably to the amusement of the reader—actually undermine Ate's argument. The speech clearly functions differently on different narrative levels (key function versus argument function): the narratee is invited to see the weakness of its arguments, which can only be persuasive for young Ampelus, who is "struck by Ate".[28] For the narratee, who is well aware of Ampelus' imminent death (cf. prophetic vision in 11.83–98), the examples of Glaucus' and Bellerophon's hubris, moreover, serve as a prefiguration of Ampelus' fatal hubristic behaviour. When Ampelus, after this speech, proceeds to mount the bull, he fulfils the narratee's expectations in this respect by boasting to Selene about his bull-riding victory (11.185–188). She then sends a gadfly to madden the bull, who—as it is put by the narrator with a sense of dramatic irony—immediately starts galloping "like a *horse*" (11.193: εἴκελος ἵππῳ).

4.2 Speaking in Disguise: ἦθος, πάθος and Authority

As pointed out above, 16 of the total of 29 speeches which are marked as 'deceptive' by the narrator are spoken by a character (most often a god) in disguise. A fine example is Nike's exhortation as Leto (no. 2, 2.209–236). Although it is clearly a battle exhortation in content, the narrator announces her speech as πολύτροπος in line 208 (πολύτροπον ἴαχε φωνήν·)—a reference, most likely, to Nike's disguise (207: Λητοῦς εἶδος ἔχουσα).[29] As Danielle Auger (2003, 417) has noted, the mere fact that a goddess appears in disguise to a fellow god is peculiar and uncommon in epic poetry:[30]

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28 As a second argument in this part of the speech, the connection between Dionysus and bulls is also mentioned (151: ταυροφυὴς Διόνυσος).

29 See above (4.1) on the occurrence of battle-exhortations in the list of "deceptive speeches" and for the frequently occurring combination of battle-exhortation and disguise (7 ×). On battle-exhortations in disguise, see also 2.2.2.

30 Vian 1976, 76, on the other hand, refers to *Il.* 2.20–22, 13.216, 16.715–720 and *Posth.* 11.137–141, where gods exhort mortal heroes and take the guise of a (mortal) trustee to do so. He thus interprets Nike's disguise as part of a convention of the epic genre ("Pour se conformer à la convention épique, Victoire ne parle pas à visage découvert"). I, however, agree with Auger that the epic convention is, to a certain extent, strained in Nonnus by the fact that the addressees of such speeches in disguise can now also be the most powerful gods (including

> Quand un dieu adopte la forme d'un autre dieu pour donner des encouragements mensongers à un dieu qui rêve, les codes de l'épopée se brouillent et il ne reste plus que la dimension de tromperie.

When we consider, on the one hand, that the god who is deceived by this disguise is none less than the almighty Zeus, and that, on the other, the goal of the speech is not even really deceptive, but rather exhortative, the question about the function of the disguise becomes even more pressing. As I have already emphasized in the case of the speech of Iris/Nyx to Hypnus (no. 15, 31.136–190, cf. 1.1.2), a disguise can, however, also play an important role in the persuasive strategy of a speech. Let us first, briefly, look back at the example of Iris/Nyx and Hypnus, and then return to Nike/Leto and Zeus.

As was apparent from my analysis of this speech in chapter 1, Nyx as Hypnus' mother, and as a powerful deity and Hypnus' potential protectress, can use a whole range of different arguments from those which Iris herself could have used. Her speech, naturally, also has an entirely different emotional impact on her son. Her authority, moreover, gives Hypnus the warranty of safety, something which he lacks in Nonnus' Homeric model for this scene (cf. *Il.* 14.259–262 and see 1.1.2). It is not only Iris' appearance which has changed; she also adopts the persona of Nyx in her speech and speaks 'in character', as an actress would do, or, in the written form, as a student of rhetoric writing an ethopoea would do. Iris' choice of the persona of Nyx to deliver this speech to Hypnus can thus be compared to the construction a rhetor builds during the course of his speech of his own moral character as a speaker (ἦθος). It is an ethopoea in the true sense of the word. Christopher Carey (1994, 34–35) describes the persuasive function of ἦθος in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as follows:

> For Aristotle the use of *ethos*, moral character, as a means of persuasion consists in creating through the speech a character (Rhetoric 1377b) which will induce the required degree of trust on the part of the hearer.

Because of their emotional connection, Nyx is also able to transfer her own emotions of indignation with regard to Dionysus to her son. Her appeal to his

Zeus and Hera). It can, of course, not be denied that there is a different relation between gods and heroes in the *Dionysiaca*, in which the protagonist, Dionysus, is a god on his way to Olympus, but generally there remains a clear distinction between the Olympians and the minor gods on earth.

indignation is a good example of the rhetorical use of πάθος to evoke a reaction of enmity towards the opponent (διαβολή).[31]

Also in the speech of Nike to Zeus in book 2, the disguise as Leto is clearly exploited to achieve persuasion more effectively, both in the construction of Leto's speaker's ἦθος and in the personalized argumentation of the speech.

Ζεῦ ἄνα, σῶν τεκέων πρόμος ἵστασο, μηδὲ νοήσω
μιγνυμένην Τυφῶνι γάμων ἀδίδακτον Ἀθήνην·
μητέρα μὴ τελέσειας ἀμήτορα, μαρνάμενος δέ
ἀστεροπὴν κούφιζε σελασφόρον ἔγχος Ὀλύμπου,
καὶ νεφέλας συνάγειρε τὸ δεύτερον, ὑέτιε Ζεῦ.—
Ἤδη γὰρ σταθεροῖο τινάσσεται ἕδρανα κόσμου
χερσὶ Τυφαονίῃσιν, ὁμοζυγέων δὲ λυθέντων
στοιχείων πισύρων ἠρνήσατο λήια Δηώ,
Ἥβη λεῖπε κύπελλον, Ἄρης δ' ἀπεσείσατο λόγχην,
Ἑρμῆς ῥάβδον ἔθηκε, λύρην δ' ἔρριψεν Ἀπόλλων,
καὶ πτερόεις πεπότητο λιπὼν πτερόεντας ὀιστούς,
εἶδος ἔχων κύκνοιο, τελεσσιγάμου δὲ θεαίνης
ἄσπορος ἔπλετο κόσμος ἀλωομένης Ἀφροδίτης,
Ἁρμονίης δ' ἀλύτου λύτο πείσματα· νυμφοκόμος γάρ
πανδαμάτωρ ἀδάμαστος Ἔρως θρασὺς εἰς φόβον ἔπτη
τόξα λιπὼν γονόεντα· καὶ ἠθάδα Λῆμνον ἐάσσας
σὸς πυρόεις Ἥφαιστος ἀπειθέα γούνατα σύρων
ὁ βραδὺς ἀστήρικτον ἔχει δρόμον. Ἆ μέγα θαῦμα,
καὶ μάλα μοι κοτέουσαν ἐποικτείρω σέθεν Ἥρην.
Ἦ ῥα τεὸς γενέτης πάλιν ἵξεται εἰς χορὸν ἄστρων;
Μή ποτε τοῦτο γένοιτο· καὶ εἰ Τιτηνὶς ἀκούω,
οὐκ ἐθέλω Τιτῆνας ἰδεῖν κρατέοντας Ὀλύμπου,
ἀλλὰ σὲ καὶ σέο τέκνα.—Σὺ δὲ κτυπέοντι κεραυνῷ
Ἀρτέμιδος προμάχιζε σαόφρονος· Ἦ ῥα φυλάσσω
παρθενικὴν ἀνάεδνον ἀναγκαίῳ παρακοίτῃ;
Ἦ ῥα τόκου ταμίη τόκον ὄψεται; Ἦ ῥα τανύσσει
χεῖρας ἐμοί; Ποίην δὲ καλέσσομαι Ἰοχεαίρῃ
ἵλαον Εἰλείθυιαν, ὅτ' Εἰλείθυια λοχεύσῃ;

Lord Zeus! Stand up as champion of your own children! Let me never see Athena mingled with Typhon, she who knows not the way of a man

31 See Carey 1994, 34–43.

> with a maid! Make not a mother of the unmothered! Fight, brandish your lightning, the fiery spear of Olympos! Gather once more your clouds, lord of the rain! For the foundations of the steadfast universe are already shaking under Typhon's hands: the four blended elements are melted! Deo has renounced her harvests. Hebe has left her cup, Ares has thrown down his spear, Hermes has dropped his staff, Apollo has cast away his harp, and taken a swan's form, and flown off on the wing, leaving his winged arrows behind! Aphrodite, the goddess who brings wedlock to pass, has gone a-wandering, and the universe is without seed. The bonds indissoluble of harmony are dissolved: for bold Eros has flown in panic, leaving behind his generative arrows, he the adorner of brides, he the all-mastering, the unmastered! And your fiery Hephaistos has left his favourite Lemnos, and dragging unruly knees, how fast the slow one goes! See a great miracle—I pity your Hera, though she hates me sure enough! What—is your begetter to come back into the assembly of the stars? May that never be, I pray! Even if I am called a Titaness, I wish to see no Titans lords of Olympos, but you and your children. Take your lordly thunderbolt and champion chaste Artemis. What—do I keep my maiden for a bridegroom who offers no gifts but only violence? What—is the dispenser of childbirth to see childbirth of her own? Will she stretch out her hands to me, and then what gracious Eileithyia shall I call for the Archeress, when Eileithyia herself is in childbed?

The speech starts with an urgent request to Zeus to fight on behalf of his children (2.209: σῶν τεκέων πρόμος ἵστασο), which is certainly an appropriate opening sentence for Leto both as the mother of two of these children and in her capacity as a benign mother goddess, connected in her cult to the initiation of young boys and girls.[32] The reference to Athena at the start of her speech (210: γάμων ἀδίδακτον Ἀθήνην), whose virginity is threatened by Typhon, has to be connected to the end of the speech, where Leto more elaborately returns to the same topic, now concerning her own daughter Artemis (232–236), whom she urges Zeus to defend with even more urgency.[33]

Whereas the middle part of Leto's speech is more neutral in tone (214–226: a catalogue of gods who have abandoned their tasks because of Typhon), the last

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32 Leto is characterized as "mild" and "gentle", in Hes. *Theog.* 406–408 (406: μείλιχον αἰεί). Leto appears mostly in connection with her children Apollo and Artemis, but is in her own cults connected to the initiation rites of young men or young girls. See Graf 1999.

33 See also Vian 1976, 76: "elle prend le visage de Létô, ce qui permet à la déesse d'apitoyer Zeus sur le sort d'Artémis et à Nonnos de placer sa pointe finale."

part clearly aims at an emotional impact. Leto ends her catalogue of afflicted gods with an exclamation of surprise, for despite their history of animosity, she even feels pity for Hera (226–227: Ἆ μέγα θαῦμα, | καὶ μάλα μοι κοτέουσαν ἐποικτείρω σέθεν Ἥρην). A second exclamation follows, now in the form of a question: will Cronus and the Titans return to Olympus? (228: Ἦ ῥα τεὸς γενέτης πάλιν ἵξεται εἰς χορὸν ἄστρων;) Leto immediately confirms that she certainly hopes not and emphasizes in her answer her own identity as a Titan goddess (229: εἰ Τιτηνὶς ἀκούω).[34]

In her emotional reaction, Leto is portrayed as a faithful Olympian. She puts her rivalry with Hera aside in a time of need and prefers the Olympians over the Titans, thus renouncing her own Titan identity. The emotional impact on Zeus that is aimed at is clear: Leto is cast as an example of selfless and magnanimous loyalty. Her unselfish reaction to the events has to serve as an incentive for Zeus to fight Typhon with more vigour.

One question, however, remains. If Leto's character and position among the Olympians make her a suitable speaker to exhort Zeus, why did Nonnus not cast Leto in this role in the first place? Why insert an exhortation by Nike "in the guise" of Leto? Two interpretations are, in my opinion, possible.

On the one hand, Nike is an abstract deity just like Ate. When she is presented in the visual arts, her presence is clearly symbolic. If she appears in a martial context, this indicates to the viewer of the work of art which party will be victorious. Her presence is, however, not necessarily noticed by the participants in battle.[35] Similarly, in the *Dionysiaca* her presence in disguise could be interpreted as a sign, invisible to Zeus, of his impending victory.[36] In the same

34 See also Vian 1976, 76: "Grâce à sa forme d'emprunt, elle peut aussi se présenter comme une Titanide et proclamer que les divinités préolympiennes elles-mêmes souhaitent la victoire de Zeus."

35 Goulaki-Voutra, Moustaki and Grote 1992, 850: "N. ist eigentlich keine echt mythologische Figur. Sie ist eine Personifikation des abstrakten Begriffes 'Sieg', die zu einer vollen göttlichen Persönlichkeit ausgestaltet worden ist, was sie besonders der bildenden Kunst und weniger dem Kult, der Mythologie oder der Literatur verdankt." For the appearance of Nike among warriors in battle scenes in classical iconography, see: Goulaki-Voutra, Moustaki and Grote 1992, 858–859 and 875–876.

36 Vian (1976, 76) interestingly makes note of Nike's repeated presence at Zeus' side in book 2, which, in my opinion, can be interpreted entirely symbolically: "Nonnos l'attribue [the exhortation] à Victoire, qui ne cessera d'assister son père: elle lui apporte ses armes en même temps qu'elle lui prodigue des encouragements (v. 207), elle le mène au combat (v. 358), le couvre de son bouclier (v. 418) et, après la défaite de Typhée, conduit le char triomphal (v. 701). Sa présence se justifie d'autant mieux que l'iconographie la fait intervenir dans la Gigantomachie dès le VIe siècle, peut-être aussi dans les *Typhonies*."

way, Ate in book 11 is, for the narratee, the symbol of Ampelus' fatal decision (see above). Nike's presence thus has a key function in the narrative as a symbolic detail communicated to the narratee only.

On the other hand, the seemingly unnecessarily complex construction with Nike in the guise of Leto puts more emphasis on the eventual choice of Leto as a speaker than would have been the case if Leto herself spoke to Zeus. Whereas the presence of Nike has a key function in the narrative, her appearance as Leto has an argument function. Her presence has the value of an argument on the level of the communication between the characters.

By emphasizing the choice of the speaker and its persuasive effect, the narrator, moreover, also draws attention to the intelligent design of this speech in character. Within the fictional context of the *Dionysiaca*, Nike performs a successful ethopoea by literarily putting herself in Leto's place. Thus, she creates for herself the most appropriate persona (ἦθος) in order to have the desired effect on her addressee. It is as if Nonnus is drawing attention to his character's—and therefore his own—rhetorical capacities, an effect to which the introduction of the speech as πολύτροπος may also seem to contribute.

4.3 Hera's Deception of Semele: A Case Study

In the final part of this chapter, I will discuss a remarkable series of deceptive speeches in book 8 of the *Dionysiaca*. They are part of the story of Hera's ruse to trick Semele into asking Zeus to appear to her in his full divine shape, thus bringing about her own death. In Nonnus' version of the story, not one (as in Ovid's *Met.* 3.271–287) but three deceptive speeches are needed to bring about Semele's fatal act of jealousy. Not only are these three speeches (nos. 4–6 on our list) good examples to show the rhetorical means of persuasion used in Nonnus' deceptive speeches; the remarkable fact that three deceptive speeches are found in Nonnus' version, where only one is expected, also adds to the discussion of the function of speech in the *Dionysiaca* and the importance of rhetoric.

4.3.1 *Phthonus to Hera* (*and Athena*)

Contrary to all other known versions of the story, in Nonnus the story of Hera's ruse starts with an intervention by the god Phthonus, who conceives a clever plan (8.38: καὶ φρενὶ κερδαλέῃ σκολιὴν ἐφράσσατο βουλήν) and takes the shape of Ares in order to sow envy of Semele in Hera's (and Athena's) mind. Throughout the *Dionysiaca*, and in fact in all classical mythology, the goddess Hera is characterized as a jealous and vengeful wife. Therefore, it

is all the more remarkable that in Nonnus, and only in the case of Zeus' affair with Semele, she has to be incited by Phthonus, the personification of envy, in order to make her take action against a rival. The internal emotional process of becoming jealous seems to be externalized in Nonnus' version of the story.

A literary model for the personification of Phthonus and his role as an instigator of envy can be found in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, in which he also appears as a speaking character and tries to rouse Apollo against the shorter genres of poetry.[37] It is, however, also possible to compare with the way mythological stories are told in the visual arts. The lemma "Phthonus" by Jean Robert Gisler in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1997) interestingly contains a discussion of a vase on which the death of Meleager is depicted.[38] Aphrodite and Phthonus are both looking down at the Meleager scene. As suggested by Gisler, the presence of Phthonus next to Aphrodite could in this presentation be interpreted as a personification of Aphrodite's hatred for the chaste Atalanta, thus visualising her emotions.

A second example from the visual arts (figure 5) provides us with an even more striking parallel—if at least the interpretation of the figures on this unfortunately damaged piece of textile is correct.[39] On the lower part of the veil

37 See Chuvin 1992, 185. Compare Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.105–113: ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν· | 'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει.' | τὸν Φθόνον ὡπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' ἔειπεν· | 'Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλά | λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἕλκει. | Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι, | ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει | πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.' | χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἵν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο. "Envy spoke secretly into Phoebus' ear: 'I do not admire the singer who does not sing even as much as the sea.' Phoebus pushed Envy off with his foot and spoke the following: 'The flow of the Assyrian river is vast, but it draws along much refuse from the land and much garbage on its waters. Not from any sources do bees carry water to Demeter, but from what comes up pure and undefiled from a holy fountain, a small drop, the choicest of waters.' Hail Lord, But Blame, let him go where Envy is" (transl. Stephens 2015).

38 This red-figured vase (Naples. Mus. Naz. 80854), from around 350/375 BC and cited as Gisler's no. 26, depicts Phthonus as a young boy with wings, accompanying Aphrodite in the upper right corner of the mythological tableau. He can be identified as Phthonus (and not Eros) by means of his name label.

39 It is referred to as a possible parallel for Nonnus' portrayal of Phthonus as Ares by Laura Miguélez Cavero in her 2013a article "Cosmic and Terrestial Personifications in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*." Miguélez Cavero 2013a, 361–362: "However, a figure in the fourth-century 'voile d'Antionoe' may well represent Envy, in the shape of Ares, stirring up the hatred of Hera, thus adding some evidence from the visual arts." Kristensen 2016, 469–470 discusses

FIGURE 5 *Upper right corner of the so-called "Voile d'Antinoé" (Paris, Louvre, Egyptian Antiquities inv. 11102).*
© MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, DIST. RMN-GRAND PALAIS / GEORGES PONCET

a Bacchic procession is depicted, whereas the upper part contains a series of scenes from the childhood of the god.[40] The scene in figure 5 has been interpreted as depicting Hera attacking a Satyr who is holding the baby Dionysus. "The warrior, wearing a helmet and brandishing a sword and shield, might be the personification of Envy who, in the guise of the god Mars, has come to stir up Hera's hatred" (Rutschowscaya 1990, 82). This interpretation, which is not supported by a name label, however, seems to be based on the literary parallel in Nonnus (to whom Rutschowscaya herself refers on the next page as an example of the popularity of Dionysus in late antique Egypt). Because of the danger of entering a circular argument, I will not further elaborate on this parallel.[41]

The parallels from the visual arts are complemented by parallels in contemporary theatrical genres. In her study of late antique mosaics, Ruth Leader-Newby (2005, 236–237) connects the presence of abstract personifications in narrative tableaux with contemporary theatrical performances (especially mime and pantomime) and public processions. It is also possible to refer to the personifications staged in classical drama (for example the role of Cra-

the same veil, but without drawing the attention to the armed figure in the upper right corner.

40 See Miguélez Cavero (2013a, 362 n. 51) and Rutschowscaya 1990, 28–29 and 82.

41 Using Nonnus to interpret a 4th century veil is, moreover, not unproblematic. One would have to suppose that Nonnus' version of the story reflects an older tradition in which Phthonus already plays a role disguised as Ares. This is, of course, possible, but the evidence of the veil is insufficient to ground this far-reaching hypothesis.

tus and Bia in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Δίκαιος Λόγος and Ἄδικος Λόγος in Aristophanes' *Clouds*).[42] If not his presence as a personification of an abstract concept, then at least the description of the disguise of Phthonus as Ares bears theatrical reminiscences. Phthonus is described as using false blood on his shield and hands to increase the credibility of his disguise as Ares (8.40–44):[43]

καὶ οἷά περ αἵματος ὁλκῷ
ἄνθεϊ φαρμακόεντι κατέγραφε νῶτα βοείης
ποιητῇ ῥαθάμιγγι· καὶ ὡς κταμένων ἀπὸ φωτῶν
βάψας ἰσοτύπῳ δεδολωμένα δάκτυλα μίλτῳ
χεῖρας ἐρευθιόωντι νόθῳ φοινίσσετο λύθρῳ.

> He scored the front of the shield with a liquid of his own made from a poisonous flower, to imitate smears of blood. He dipped his deceitful fingers in vermilion dye, staining his hands with red stuff which pretended to be gore (which it resembled) from his slain enemies.

Even Ares' voice is imitated by Phthonus, as is made clear with a Homeric reference to the intensity of its sound (*D.* 8.45: κτύπον ἐννεάχιλον ~ *Il.* 5.860: ὅσσόν τ' ἐννεάχιλοι, also about Ares).[44]

Finally, in 8.47–49 Phthonus' deceptive speech is announced (47: **κλεψινόοις** δ' ὀάροισιν). A remarkable feature of this introductory formula is the mentioning of a double intended audience for the speech: Hera is addressed, as could be expected in this context, but also Athena, who otherwise always appears as a supporter of Dionysus (cf. nos. 11 and 24 and n. 7 above). Here, she is presented as a potential enemy of Semele/Dionysus and ally of Hera. Although she is mentioned both in the introductory lines and the capping lines of the speech (8.103) and is even briefly addressed in the speech itself (8.83–88), she has no further role to play in this episode.[45] As suggested by Chuvin (1992,

42 See also Picard 1942.

43 See also Gigli Piccardi 1985, 93: "con un tocco di magia teatrale". She refers to a scholion on Aristophanes' *Birds*, 230 (*Scholia in Aristophanem*, Aves 230) for the use of μίλτος as theatre blood.

44 See also Gigli Piccardi 2003, 578.

45 In his speech, Phthonus also inserts an apostrophe to Hephaestus (8.80–83), who is actually, just like Athena, a future supporter of Dionysus (cf. 27.120–125, 29.193–214 and 30.63–104). Because Hephaestus is not mentioned in the introductory and capping lines and because Phthonus mentions Hephaestus' assistance at the birth of Athena, the apostro-

110), this address could perhaps be explained as a reminiscence of her role in *Argonautica* 3, accompanying Hera while the latter is about to set in motion her ruse to help Jason. In book 8 of the *Dionysiaca*, however, her presence remains difficult to explain. Notwithstanding the fact that she is explicitly addressed in the speech, its rhetorical structure and the speaker's disguise as Ares (Hera's favourite child) indicate that its main goal is to convince Hera and not Athena of the need to take action against Semele. In this capacity, the speech functions as a catalyst for the entire episode.

Δίζεό σοι νέον ἄλλον ἐν αἰθέρι νυμφίον, Ἥρη,
ἄλλον, ἐπεὶ Σεμέλη τεὸν ἥρπασεν, ἧς χάριν εὐνῆς
Θήβης ἑπταπύλοιο γαμήλιον οὖδας ἀμείβων
οὐρανὸν ἑπτάζωνον ἀναίνεται. Ἀντὶ σέθεν δέ
τέρπεται ἀγκὰς ἔχων χθονίην ἐγκύμονα νύμφην.
Πῇ μοι ζῆλος ἔβη μητρώιος; Ἦ ῥα καὶ αὐτῆς
εἰς Σεμέλης ὑμέναιον ἐθηλύνθη χόλος Ἥρης;
Πῇ σέο κέντρα μύωπος ἀφειδέος; Οὐκέτι πόντῳ
πόρτις ἀλιπτοίητος ἐλαύνεται; Οὐκέτι βούτης
Ἄργος ἀκοιμήτοισι πολυσπερέεσσιν ὀπωπαῖς
κλεψιγάμου Κρονίδαο νεώτερα λέκτρα φυλάσσει;
Ἀλλὰ τί μοι δόμος οὗτος Ὀλύμπιος; εἰς χθόνα βαίνων
αἰθέρα καλλείψω πατρώιον, ἡμετέρην δέ
Θρήκην ναιετάων οὐ μητέρος ἄλγεα λεύσσω
ἀχνυμένης, οὐ Ζῆνα γαμοκλόπον· Εἰ δέ ποτ᾽ ἔλθῃ
γαῖαν ἐς ἡμετέρην ποθέων Βιστωνίδα κούρην,
γνώσεται, οἷος Ἄρης, ὅτε χώεται· ἡμετέρην γάρ
Τιτήνων ὀλέτειραν ἔχων θανατηφόρον αἰχμὴν
ἐκ Θρήκης Κρονίωνα γυναιμανέοντα διώξω·
καὶ πρόφασιν μεθέπων, ὅτι παρθένον εἰς λέχος ἕλκει,
ἔσσομαι αὐτοκέλευστος ἐμῆς τιμήορος Ἥρης.
Ὅττι χαμαιγενέεσσιν ὁμιλήσας ὑμεναίοις
αἰθέρα ποικιλόνωτον ἑῶν ἔπλησεν ἐρώτων,
οὐρανὸς ἱλήκοι, μερόπων δόμος· εἰς χθόνα βαίνω·
Καλλιστὼ κατ᾽ Ὄλυμπον ἑλίσσεται, ἧχι φαείνει
κύκλος ἀερσιλόφοιο φερώνυμος Ἀρκάδος Ἄρκτου.
Πλειάδος ἑπταπόρου στυγέω δρόμον· ἐν γὰρ Ὀλύμπῳ

phe is usually interpreted as an emphatic introduction to the address to Athena rather than actually addressing Hephaestus (see Gigli Piccardi 2003, 581).

Ἠλέκτρῃ κλονέει με συναστράπτουσα Σελήνῃ.
Νῦν πόθεν ἠρεμέεις; Ὑποκόλπιον υἱέα Λητοῦς
ἤκαχες Ἀπόλλωνα, καὶ οὐ Διόνυσον ὀρίνεις;
Τικτομένης, Ἥφαιστε, μογοστόκε Τριτογενείης,
υἷα νόθης ἀλόχοιο λοχεύσεται αὐτοτόκος Ζεύς
ὠδίνων τόκον ἄλλον ὑπέρτερον ἄρσενι μηρῷ,
οὐδὲ τεοῦ βουπλῆγος ἔτι χρέος. Εἶξον, Ἀθήνη,
λῆγε Διὸς βοόωσα λεχώιον ἄντυγα κόρσης,
ὅττι σοφὴν ὠδῖνα τελεσσιγόνοιο καρήνου
αἰσχύνει Διόνυσος, ὅτι χθονίης ἀπὸ φύτλης
ἔσσεται αὐτολόχευτος Ὀλύμπιος, ὥς περ Ἀθήνη,
κρύπτων Παλλάδος εὖχος ἀμήτορος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτός
αἰδέομαι πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὅταν μερόπων τις ἐνίψῃ·
'Ζεὺς πόρε δῆριν Ἄρηι καὶ εὐφροσύνην Διονύσῳ.'
Ἀλλὰ πόλον Κρονίδαο νόθοις τεκέεσσιν ἐάσσας
ἵξομαι οὐρανόθεν μετανάστιος· ὑγροπαγὴς δέ
Ἴστρος ἐὸν σκηπτοῦχον ἀλητεύοντα δεχέσθω,
πρὶν Διὸς οἰνοχόον Γανυμήδεα δεῦρο νοήσω,
βουκόλον εὐχαίτην, μετὰ Πέργαμον ἀστὸν Ὀλύμπου,
οὐρανίης ἄψαυστον ἀμειβόμενον δέπας Ἥβης,
πρὶν Σεμέλην καὶ Βάκχον ἴδω ναετῆρας Ὀλύμπου,
καὶ Στέφος ἀστερόφοιτον ἐπιχθονίης Ἀριάδνης
σύνδρομον Ἠελίοιο, συνέμπορον Ἠριγενείης.
Κεῖθι μένω, μὴ Κῆτος ἴδω, μὴ Περσέος ἅρπην,
μὴ τύπον Ἀνδρομέδης, μὴ Γοργόνος ὄμμα Μεδούσης,
οὓς Κρονίδης μετόπισθεν ἐνιστήσειεν Ὀλύμπῳ.

Find another bridegroom in the sky, Hera, yes another! For Semele has stolen yours! For her sake he renounces the sevenzoned sky and treads the bridal floor of sevengated Thebes! In your place he holds in his arms an earthly bride with child, and is happy! What has become of my mother's jealousy? Has even Hera's wrath become unmanned for this marriage with Semele? Where are the stings of your merciless gadfly? No heifer is now driven in seapanic over the deep—no herdsman Argos with a thick crop of eyes watches the latest bed of lecher Cronides? But what is this palace of Olympos to me? I will go down to earth, I will leave my father's heaven and live in my own Thrace, I will no longer look on at my unhappy mother's wrongs and Zeus the wife-spoiler! If he ever comes to my country because he wants a Bistonian girl, he shall know what Ares is like when he is angry. I will take my Titan-destroying deathdealing spear and chase

> womanmad Cronion out of Thrace! I will use the excuse that he drags this maiden to his bed, I will be avenger selfappointed of my mother, because he has frequented earthborn brides and filled the bespangled heavens with his loves! Goodbye Heaven—where mortals are at home! I will go down to earth. Callisto circles about Olympos, and there shines the ring named after the highcrested Arcadian Bear. I hate the seven Pleiads in their courses—for in Olympos it irks me that Electra shows her light with Selene. Now why are you quiet? You persecuted Apollo in the womb of his mother Leto, and you leave Dionysos in peace? Hephaistos, you brought about the birth of Tritogeneia, and Zeus shall be his own midwife for the bastard son of a drab, more mighty still than Athena, and he shall produce him from his manly thigh—no need now for your pole-axe! Give place, Athena! Cease to cry up that rounded forehead as your birthbed! Dionysos puts into the shade the clever delivery of that teeming head! Sprung from a mortal stock, he shall be an Olympian like Athena, but self-delivered, and eclipsing the boast of Pallas the motherless. But I am ashamed myself far more, when some mortal man shall say: 'Zeus granted battles to Ares, and merry-hearted cheer to Dionysos.' Well, I will leave the sky to the bastard brats of Cronides, and quit the heavens a banished god. Let Istros with his frozen flood receive its homeless monarch, before I see Ganymedes come here to pour the wine, that long-haired cowdrover, first in Pergamos then domiciled in Olympos, usurping the untouched cup of heavenly Hebe; before I can see Semele and Bacchos denizens of Olympos, and Ariadne's crown translated to the stars to run its course with Helios, to travel with misty Dawn. There I will stay, that I may never behold the sea-monster, the sickle of Perseus, the figure of Andromeda, the glare of Gorgon Medusa, whom Cronides will establish in Olympos by and by.

The first part of Phthonus' speech (8.50–60) is a strong appeal to Hera's indignation. Phthonus catches her attention with the bold statement that she will have to search for a new husband (50: δίζεό σοι) and then emphasizes her role as the victim of the situation (51: Σεμέλη τεὸν ἥρπασεν and 53: ἀντὶ σέθεν). A series of three indignant rhetorical questions blames Hera for her passivity and the absence of ζῆλος (55), χόλος (56) and gadflies (57) in her reaction, and serves to call her to action. With the third question "where are the stings of your merciless gadfly?", the exemplum of Io is introduced as a first precedent of Hera's earlier actions against her rivals, which by anaphoric use of οὐκέτι (57–58) is put in contrast to her present behaviour.

In the second part of the speech (61–79), the very close relation between (the adopted persona of the) speaker and addressee, already hinted at in 55

(μητρώιος), is fully exploited. Phthonus now makes Ares victimize himself and appeals to Hera's motherly feelings towards her favourite son by portraying him as his mother's defender. This section opens with an emotional exclamation of Ares, who feels no longer at home on Olympus (61: Ἀλλὰ τί μοι δόμος οὗτος Ὀλύμπιος;). He explains that he cannot bear his mother's sufferings (63: οὐ μητέρος ἄλγεα λεύσσω) and Zeus' adultery (64: οὐ Ζῆνα γαμοκλόπον). Whereas, in the first part, Phthonus referred to Hera's own past actions (against Io) as an example for imitation, here, Ares' future actions should Zeus ever seduce a Bistonian girl[46] serve the same purpose. He even calls himself his mother's avenger (70: ἐμῆς τιμήορος Ἥρης). The closing part of this section resumes the opening claim that Olympus has become uninhabitable for the other Olympian gods (71–79) and contains a short catalogue of Zeus' loved ones, who already have (acquired) a position in the sky (Callisto, Electra and Leto). Ares recalls their names to show his own indignation, but the real purpose of this catalogue is of course to increase Hera's jealousy by reminding her of the other times Zeus has been unfaithful to her. His final example, Leto, is used to renew the argument of Hera's former acts of revenge against Zeus' loved ones (now Leto and her son Apollo). It serves as a new invitation for Hera to take her own actions as an example for imitation.

The third part of the speech (80–90) contains the abovementioned address to Athena. She and Hephaestus are addressed in this passage, because, according to Phthonus/Ares, they are both wronged by the birth of Dionysus: Hephaestus, because, despite his assistance of Zeus with the birth of Athena, his help has been made redundant in the case of Dionysus (83: οὐδὲ τεοῦ βουπλῆγος ἔτι χρέος); Athena, because she now has to share the honour of being given birth to by Zeus himself with the son of a mortal mother (86: χθονίης ἀπὸ φύτλης). This section seems, however, not only to be intended to persuade Athena and Hephaestus to take action—presuming at least that this would also be Phthonus' intention[47]—but also introduces a new argument to persuade Hera. The speech builds up to a climax, for whereas Hephaestus is made redundant and Athena's noble birth has become less exceptional, Ares himself—as a third child of Zeus—is affected even more (89: αἰδέομαι πολὺ μᾶλλον), because

46 In fact, as also noted by Chuvin (1992, 187), not one Bistonian girl has been loved by Zeus. Bistonia in Thrace belongs to the domain of Ares, who is said to have been born in Thrace (cf. *Il.* 13.301 and *Od.* 8.361) and is the father of the Bistonian king Diomedes (Ps.-Apollodorus *Bibl.* 2.96). See also chapter 5.2.2.

47 The reference to the birth of Athena, in fact, may also contribute to the general argumentation of the speech, intended to evoke Hera's jealousy and anger towards Zeus' beloved ones and bastard children.

Zeus will give to Dionysus, god of wine and pleasure, a more appealing domain than to Ares, god of war and bloodshed. The rhetorical device of the potential τις-speech is used to emphasize the resulting damage to Ares' reputation (89–90, cf. chapter 3.1, where this case is cited under 3.1.1.1 as example 3).

Finally, in the last part of the speech (91–102), Phthonus/Ares returns, now for the third time, to his intention to leave Olympus (91–92). A new catalogue of Zeus' beloved ones and their sons follows, this time limited to those who have found (or better: will find) a place on Olympus and among the stars. Dionysus, Semele and Ariadne are mentioned as ναετῆρας Ὀλύμπου (97), just like Ganymede, Perseus and Andromeda.[48] This is the first mentioning of Danae and Perseus in the *Dionysiaca*, whose storyline is presented as parallel but slightly anterior to that of Semele and Dionysus.

To sum up, the speech of Phthonus combines three persuasive strategies to convince Hera of the need to take action against Semele:

(1) Hera's jealousy and indignation is triggered by the many examples of Zeus' adultery: Semele and Io in 50–60, Callisto, Electra and Leto in 61–79, and Ganymede, Semele and Danae in 91–102.
(2) The repeated threats (61, 73 and 91) of Hera's favourite son to leave Olympus and his self-portrayal as a victim of his father's adultery (89) serve to increase Hera's indignation, now not as a wife, but as a mother.
(3) Finally, the examples given of Hera's former actions against her rivals (55–60, 78–79) and Ares' promised future actions (64–72) are put forward as models for imitation (comparative arguments, *paria ex paribus*).

4.3.2 *Hera to Apate*

After Phthonus' speech, Hera immediately leaves in search of Apate (113: **κερδαλέην** Ἀπάτην διζημένη), or, as could be suggested, in search of ἀπάτη (deception): a deceitful plan to take revenge on Semele. Apate, after all, is the personification of deception just as Phthonus is the personification of (Hera's) envy. Although Apate is mentioned as early as Hesiod (*Theog*. 224) as the daughter of Nyx, I do not know of any literary parallels for her appearance as a full blown acting and speaking character. As a personification, however, she also appears in the visual arts. The *Lexicon Iconographicum* (LIMC) mentions two vases on which Apate

48 The references to Ariadne, Andromeda, Medusa and the sea-monster are, of course, anachronistic. In fact, all three examples (Ganymedes, Dionysus and Perseus) are situated in a future (cf. 94 and 97: πρίν), which Phthonus/Ares tries to prevent from happening. On the—sometimes problematic—chronology of Zeus' loves in the *Dionysiaca*, see Giraudet 2010, 127–138.

(in both cases identified with a name label) figures in a mythological scene. In the first case, she is depicted between Asia and Athena (who can also be seen as personifications).[49] Her role in this context is interpreted as the force of "deceptive persuasion" (Belloni 1981, 875: "persuasione ingannatrice") inciting Asia to start a war against Hellas. Perhaps even more interesting with regard to her function in Nonnus is the second case. This vase tells the story of Tereus, Procne and Philomela, in which Apate may be interpreted as the personification of the two sisters' deception of Tereus.[50] Whereas in the first case Apate appears in a scene which, as a whole, reads as an allegory, she is here—just like in Nonnus—staged as part of a mythological tableau in order to embody an abstract concept.

The introduction of Apate as a personification in Nonnus' scene, moreover, also contains the first subtle reminiscences of the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode in *Iliad* 14, which gradually becomes a more important intertext for this episode, as the conversation between Hera and Apate is clearly modelled on her conversation with Aphrodite (*Il.* 14.190–221, see also 1.1.1).[51] Hera's swift departure from Olympus in this passage and her quest to find a divine accomplice for a ruse, whom she eventually finds on an island with which the divinity in question can be connected, recalls Hera's search for Hypnus (8.110–116 ~ *Il.* 14.225–231), although there are no textual correspondences.[52]

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49 Red-figured vase (Napoli, Mus. Naz. H 3253) from around 330 BC.

50 Red-figured vase (Napoli, Mus. Naz. 82268), from around 340 BC. Apate (in the right upper corner) is depicted alongside Tereus (on the horse). At first sight, the tableau on the vase recalls a hunting scene, but the characters of the myth of Tereus are identified by name labels. Belloni (1981, 875–876) in his commentary on this image suggests that Apate's presence may be inspired by the tragic version of the story by Sophocles, which, however, is lost. "I poeti tragici amavano infatti far entrare in scena delle personificazioni." To my knowledge, however, no personifications appear "on stage" in any of Sophocles' plays.

51 See also Gigli Piccardi 2003, 584 on the introduction of the character Apate in 8.113: "personificazione dell'inganno, che compare solo qui in tutto il poema, motivato dal fatto che Nonno sta pensando evidentemente all'episodio omerico della Διὸς ἀπάτη del canto XV [sic] dell'*Iliade*, […]". And Chuvin 1992, 109: "L'essentiel du chant VIII est constitué par une adaptation de l'épisode de Zeus trompé dans l'*Iliade* (Ξ)."

52 Apate is here connected to Crete by the reputation of the Cretan liars (8.118). The connection between Hypnus and the island of Lemnos is not explained in *Il.* 14, but a scholiast (*Scholia vetera* on *Il.* 14.231) has attempted to explain his presence there as the connection of sleep with wine, referring to Lemnian wine production: πολυοίνων ὄντων καὶ φιλοίνων τῶν Λημνίων εἰκότως ἐκεῖσε διατρίβει ὁ Ὕπνος "because the Lemnians have a lot of wines and love this beverage, it is a logical place for Hypnus to stay" (my translation).

Finally, the speech of Hera is introduced with an introduction formula which draws attention to its paradoxical nature (8.124: καὶ δολίην Ἀπάτην δολίῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ). Hera will attempt to deceive none less than Deception herself!

Χαῖρε, θεὰ δολόμητι δολοπλανές· οὔ σε καὶ αὐτός
κλεψινόοις ὀάροισι παρέρχεται αἱμύλος Ἑρμῆς·
δὸς καὶ ἐμοὶ ζωστῆρα παναίολον, ὅν ποτε Ῥείη
δῆσεν ἑαῖς λαγόνεσσιν, ἕως ἀπάφησεν ἀκοίτην.
Οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ Κρονίωνι φέρω πετρώδεα μορφήν,
οὐδὲ λίθῳ δολόεντι παρακλέπτω παρακοίτην·
ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χθονίη με βιάζεται, ἧς χάριν εὐνῆς
θοῦρος Ἄρης βαρύμηνις ἀναίνεται αἰθέρα ναίειν.
Τί πλέον, εἰ γενόμην θεὸς ἄμβροτος; Οὐτιδανὴ γάρ
θνητὴ ἐμὸν πόσιν ἔσχε, τὸν οὐ θεὸς ἥρπασε Λητώ·
Οὐ Δανάῃ παρίαυε τὸ δεύτερον ὑέτιος Ζεύς,
ἀλλὰ σιδηρορόφοιο μετὰ σφρηγῖδα μελάθρου
μεμφομένη χρυσέοισι γάμοις ναυτίλλετο νύμφη,
καὶ λάχεν ἕδνον Ἔρωτος ὕδωρ ἁλός· ἐν δὲ θαλάσσῃ
σύμπλοος ἀσταθέεσσιν ἐνήχετο χηλὸς ἀήταις.
Οὐδὲ μετὰ Κρήτην πάλιν ἔπλεε Ταῦρος Ὀλύμπου,
οὐκ ἴδεν Εὐρώπην μετὰ δέμνιον. Ὑγροβαφὴς δέ
οἰστρηθεῖσα μύωπι κερασφόρος ἔπλεεν Ἰώ.
Οὐδὲ θεὰ γάμον εἶχεν ἐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτή
γαστέρι φόρτον ἔχουσα πολύστροφος ἔτρεχε Λητώ,
ἄστατα παπταίνουσα πολυπλανέων σφυρὰ νήσων
καὶ ῥόον οὐ μίμνοντα κακοξείνοιο θαλάσσης,
καὶ λοχίης μόγις εἶδεν ἐλεύθερον ἔρνος ἐλαίης.
Λητὼ τόσσα μόγησε, καὶ οὐ χραίσμησεν ἀκοίτης.
Θνητῆς δ' ὠκυμόροιο μιῆς διὰ δέμνια νύμφης
οὐρανίης ἀπέειπε κασιγνήτης λέχος Ἥρης.
Δείδια, μὴ Κρονίδης με πόσις καὶ γνωτὸς ἀκούων
αἰθέρος ἐξελάσειε γυναικείης χάριν εὐνῆς,
μὴ Σεμέλην τελέσειεν ἑοῦ βασίλειαν Ὀλύμπου.
Εἰ δὲ Διὶ Κρονίωνι χαρίζεαι ἠέ περ Ἥρῃ
μηδὲ τεὴν ὀπάσειας ἐμοὶ πανθελγέα μίτρην,
ὄφρα μόλῃ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἐμὸς πάλιν υἱὸς ἀλήτης,
ὑστατίην ἐπὶ πέζαν ἐλεύσομαι Ὠκεανοῖο
αἰθέρα καλλείψασα χάριν βροτέων ὑμεναίων
Τηθύος ἀρχεγόνοιο συνέστιος· ἔνθεν ἱκάνω
εἰς δόμον Ἁρμονίης καὶ Ὀφίονος ἐγγύθι μίμνω.

Ἀλλὰ σύ, κυδαίνουσα Διὸς παμμήτορα νύμφην,
δός μοι ἔχειν ζωστῆρα βοηθόον, ὄφρα φυγόντα
θέλξω θοῦρον Ἄρηα τὸ δεύτερον αἰθέρα ναίειν.

Good greeting, lady of wily mind and wily snares! Not Hermes Hoaxthewits himself can outdo you with his plausible prittle-prattle! Lend me also that girdle of many colours, which Rheia once bound about her flanks when she deceived her husband! I bring no petrified shape for my Cronion, I do not trick my husband with a wily stone. No! a woman of the earth compels me—whose bed makes furious Ares declare that he will house in heaven no more! What do I profit by being a goddess immortal? A worthless mortal woman has taken my husband, whom Leto a goddess could not steal. Zeus and his rain did not sleep a second time with Danaë; after the seals of the ironbound prison the bride went a-sailing and had to blame her golden wedding for her lovegift of the brine—her hutch sailing with her on the sea floated where the shifting winds did blow! After Crete the Olympian bull did not swim again, he did not see Europa after the bed; but Io was soaked in the wet, and swam with horns on her head plagued by the gadfly! Even the goddess did not have a smooth course for her wedding; she also, Leto herself, carried the burden in her belly by many a turn and twist, while she gazed at the shifting slopes of many a floating island, and the flood of the inhospitable sea that never stood still. Hardly at last she espied the wild olive-tree which harboured her childbed. All that Leto suffered, and her mate could not help her; but for the bed of one shortlived mortal woman he has renounced the couch of Hera his heavenly sister. I am afraid Cronides, who is called my husband and brother, will banish me from heaven for a woman's bed, afraid he may make Semele queen of his Olympos! If you favour Zeus Cronion more than Hera, if you will not give me your all-bewitching girdle to bring back again to Olympos my wandering son, I will leave heaven because of their earthly marriage, I will go to the uttermost bounds of Oceanos and share the hearth of primeval Tethys; thence I will pass to the house of Harmonia and abide with Ophion. Come then, honour the mother of all, the bride of Zeus, and lend me the help of your girdle, that I may charm my runaway son furious Ares, to make heaven once more his home.

After addressing Apate by comparing her to Hermes—a clear *captatio benevolentiae* at the start of a persuasive speech—Hera comes straight to the point and asks for the cestus (128: δὸς καὶ ἐμοὶ ζωστῆρα παναίολον). The girdle of Apate (here: ζωστήρ) is a clear reference to Aphrodite's cestus (and *Iliad* 14) and will

be explicitly compared to it in Apate's response (8.175: οὗτος ἐμῆς Παφίης φρενοθελγέα κεστὸν ἐλέγχει). Cleverly, Hera immediately connects her request to a precedent by recalling the story of Rhea's deception of Cronus.[53] The comparison between the two situations (129–133) contains a number of implicit arguments: Hera, whose position in the hierarchy of gods is comparable to that of Rhea at the time of her ruse (*paria ex paribus*), will not attack a mighty god, but a mortal woman (132: ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χθονίη, *minora ex maioribus*) who is tormenting her and has caused Ares' departure from Olympus.

The body of Hera's speech (8.134–154) consists of a catalogue of Zeus' loves, introduced by an emotional exclamation, questioning the advantages of being a god (134: τί πλέον, εἰ γενόμην θεὸς ἄμβροτος;)—a question which, inherently, also affects the goddess Apate. Semele is said to surpass all other beloved ones, including the goddess Leto,[54] because she has succeeded in making Zeus come back to her (135–142: Semele versus Leto, Danae and Europa) and in remaining unpunished (142–149: Semele versus Io and Leto). The catalogue is dramatically concluded with Hera's fear (152: δείδια) that Semele will cause Zeus to leave her for good and ban her from Olympus, which is intended to appeal to Apate's pity.

Finally, in the last part of her speech (155–164), Hera repeats her request and reminds Apate of the consequences if she does not respond favourably, thus putting her under pressure by making her responsible for the projected exile of both Ares (157) and Hera (158). Her threat to retreat to the house of Tethys, of course, also recalls *Il.* 14.198–210 and 301–311, the lying tales of Hera in Homer's Διὸς ἀπάτη. Whereas in the *Iliad* she uses her visit to Tethys as a pretext to obtain the cestus, in the *Dionysiaca* she, ironically, uses the prospect of exile to the same place as a threat.[55]

A remarkable element in this speech is the emphasis Hera puts on Ares' exile (133, 157 and 164). This exile was used by Phthonus/Ares no less than three times to rouse Hera to action and is now reused three times as an argument by Hera to appeal to Apate's pity.[56] Hera even seems to make Ares' return the ultimate

53 The element of the girdle, however, does not traditionally appear in the story of Rhea's ruse (saving Zeus by hiding the baby and giving Cronus a rock to eat instead), but seems to be invented here to give extra strength to Hera's plea (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 453–491).

54 Note the ring-composition of the catalogue with Leto at the beginning and at the end. See also Chuvin 1992, 190.

55 See also Chuvin (1992) and Gigli Piccardi (2003) ad loc.

56 Note also in this respect Hera's references in this speech to her past actions against Io and Leto, which were mentioned to her by Phthonus/Ares as incentives to act again, and compare 8.54 (Phthonus/Ares puts emphasis on the fact that Hera is defeated by a χθονίην

goal of her actions (163–164). Is she still under the influence of the emotional appeals of Phthonus as a false Ares? Or is she only pretending that Ares is the main cause of her distress in front of Apate to hide her intention to kill Semele, in which case her speech becomes more genuinely deceptive? Both options seem equally valid and whether Hera should be regarded as a shrewd actress or a concerned mother is left for the reader to decide.[57]

4.3.3 *Hera to Semele*

Finally, after Apate has handed over the cestus to Hera, Hera swiftly leaves Crete for Thebes in order to deceive Semele (8.180: εἰς θάλαμον Σεμέλης ἀπατήλιος ἤλυθεν Ἥρη). As was the case for Phthonus/Ares, much attention is paid to the disguise of the deceiver in this scene. In the description of Hera's disguise as the trusted nurse of Semele—a detail which corresponds to the mythological tradition of the Semele story[58]—the disguise is, however, not made realistic by the use of attributes (cf. Phthonus' use of theatre blood) but rather by the acting talent of Hera, who imitates the gestures and posture of an old woman in front of Semele (201–205: she trembles, bends her back, groans and feigns a tear).[59] Her speech is introduced in line 206 as a δολόεν ἔπος spoken with a φρενοθελγέι φωνῇ.

Although there are no personifications in this scene, the presence of two servant girls (193–195) with the telling names of Peisianassa ("persuading the mistress") and Thelxinoe ("bewitching the mind") also symbolically represents and announces the manipulative persuasion of Semele by Hera.[60]

[…] νύμφην) to 8.132 (Hera's complaint that she is tormented by a γυνὴ χθονίη). The two speeches are clearly constructed as parallels.

57 It has to be noted that the same argument is also used in Hera's speech to Aphrodite in book 31 (line 259). Stating that Ares will leave Olympus with his mother, she tries to persuade Aphrodite to join in her wrath against Dionysus (see also chapter 1.1.1).

58 In the version of the story found in Ovid (*Met.* 3.271–287) and Ps.-Hyginus (*Fab.* 179), the name of the nurse, Beroe, is mentioned. Nonnus does not mention the name of the nurse, as is also the case in Ps.-Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.26–27). The only truly different account of the story can be found in the work of Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl. Hist.* 4.2.1), who identifies Semele's own jealousy (not inspired by Hera) as the cause of her death. If Nonnus was aware of the tradition with Beroe as the nurse's name (only transmitted in Latin versions of the story), he may have decided not to use the name here in order to avoid confusion with the other Beroe in the *Dionysiaca*, Dionysus' beloved girl in books 41–43 (see chapter 6).

59 Hera's talent for acting "in character" of her disguise may be compared to Odysseus' "acting performances" as a beggar in the *Odyssey* (esp. books 14–17) See de Jong 2001, ad loc., esp. 338 and 409.

60 See also Gigli Piccardi 2003, 593, who connects the telling names of the two servants with

Εἰπέ, πόθεν, βασίλεια, τεαὶ χλοάουσι παρειαί;
Πῇ σέο κάλλος ἐκεῖνο; Τίς εἴδεϊ σεῖο μεγαίρων
πορφυρέους σπινθῆρας ἀπημάλδυνε προσώπου;
Καὶ ῥόδα τίς μετάμειψεν ἐς ὠκυμόρους ἀνεμώνας;
Καὶ σὺ κατηπιόωσα τί τήκεαι; ἦ ῥα καὶ αὐτή
ἔκλυες αἴσχεα κεῖνα, τά περ βοόωσι πολῖται;
Ἐρρέτω ἀρχεκάκων ὀλοὸν στόμα θηλυτεράων.
Εἰπὲ δέ μοι, μὴ κρύπτε τεῆς συλήτορα μίτρης·
τίς σε θεῶν ἐμίηνε; τίς ἥρπασε σεῖο κορείην;
Εἰ μὲν Ἄρης λαθραῖος ἐμὴν νυμφεύσατο κούρην
καὶ Σεμέλῃ παρίαυεν ἀφειδήσας Ἀφροδίτης,
ἐλθέτω ἐς σέο λέκτρα γαμήλιον ἔγχος ἀφάσσων·
γινώσκει μενέχαρμον ἑὸν γενέτην σέο μήτηρ.
Εἰ δέ σοι ὠκυπέδιλος ἐκώμασε νυμφίος Ἑρμῆς
καὶ Σεμέλης διὰ κάλλος ἑὴν ἠρνήσατο Πειθώ,
ῥάβδον ἑὴν ὀπάσειε τεῆς αὐτάγγελον εὐνῆς,
ἠέ σε κοσμήσειεν ἑοῖς χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις
δῶρον ἄγων λεχέων σέθεν ἄξιον, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτή
εἴῃς χρυσοπέδιλος, ἅ περ Διὸς εὐνέτις Ἥρη.
Εἰ δέ σοι οὐρανόθεν πόσις ἤλυθε καλὸς Ἀπόλλων
καὶ Σεμέλης ὑπ' ἔρωτι λελασμένος ἔπλετο Δάφνης,
νόσφι δόλου κρυφίοιο δι' ἠέρος εἰς σὲ χορεύσῃ
ἁβρὸς ἀσιγήτων ἐποχημένος ἅρματι κύκνων,
ἕδνα τεῆς φιλότητος ἑὴν φόρμιγγα κομίζων,
πιστὸν ἑῶν θαλάμων σημήιον· εἰσορόων γὰρ
Κάδμος ἐπουρανίην κιθάρην Φοίβοιο νοήσει,
ἣν ἴδεν αἰολόφωνον ἑῆς παρὰ δεῖπνα τραπέζης
Ἁρμονίης μέλπουσαν ἐπιχθονίους ὑμεναίους.
Εἰ δὲ γυναιμανέων σε βιήσατο Κυανοχαίτης
καί σε σοφῆς προβέβουλεν ἀειδομένης Μελανίππης,
ἀμφαδὰ κωμάσσειε, παρὰ προπύλαια δὲ Κάδμου
νυμφιδίης πήξειεν ἑῆς γλωχῖνα τριαίνης,
ξυνώσας γέρας ἶσον ἐχιδνοκόμῳ παρὰ Δίρκῃ,
οἷα παρ' Ἀργείοισι δρακοντοβότῳ παρὰ Λέρνῃ
σῆμα γάμων ἔστησεν, Ἀμυμώνης ὅθι νύμφης

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the disguise of Aphrodite as Harmonia's neighbour and friend Peisinoe ("persuading the mind") when she approaches Harmonia to persuade her to love Cadmus (4.72, no. 3 on our list). This speech will be analysed in part in chapter 5.2.4.1. See also Carvounis 2014, 30–33 for a rhetorical analysis of this speech as an encomium.

Λερναίης ἔτι χῶρος ἐπώνυμός ἐστι τριαίνης.
Ἀλλὰ τί κικλήσκω σε παρευνέτιν Ἐννοσιγαίου;
Ποῖα Ποσειδάωνος ἔχεις σημήια λέκτρων;
Ὑδρηλαῖς παλάμῃσι χυθεὶς ἠγκάσσατο Τυρὼ
παφλάζων δολόεντι ῥόῳ μιμηλὸς Ἐνιπεύς.
Εἰ δὲ καί, ὡς ἐνέπεις, σέο νυμφίος ἐστὶ Κρονίων,
ἐλθέτω εἰς σέο λέκτρα σὺν ἱμερόεντι κεραυνῷ,
ἀστεροπῇ γαμίῃ κεκορυθμένος, ὄφρα τις εἴπῃ·
"Ἥρης καὶ Σεμέλης νυμφοστόλοι εἰσὶ κεραυνοί."
Ζηλήμων περ ἐοῦσα Διὸς δάμαρ οὔ σε χαλέψει·
οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέψειε τεὸς μητρώιος Ἄρης.
Ὀλβίη Εὐρώπη Σεμέλης πλέον, ἣν ὑπὲρ ὤμων
Ζεὺς κερόεις ἀνάειρε· ποθοβλήτοιο δὲ ταύρου
ἄβροχος ἀκροτάτοιο δι' ὕδατος ἔτρεχε χηλή,
καὶ σκάφος ἦεν Ἔρωτος ὁ τηλίκος. Ἆ μέγα θαῦμα,
παρθένος ἡνιόχευε τὸν αἰθέρος ἡνιοχῆα.
Ὀλβίζω Δανάην Σεμέλης πλέον, ἧς διὰ κόλπου
χρύσεος ἐξ ὀρόφοιο κατέρρεεν ὑέτιος Ζεύς
ἀφνειῇ ῥαθάμιγγι γυναιμανέος νιφετοῖο·
οὐ μὲν χρύσεα δῶρα μακαρτάτη ᾔτεε νύμφη·
εἶχε γὰρ ἕδνον ἔρωτος ὅλον πόσιν. Ἀλλά τις εἴη
σιγὴ ἐφ' ἡμείων, γενέτης μὴ Κάδμος ἀκούσῃ.

Tell me, my queen, why are your cheeks so pale? Where is your beauty? Who has grudged that loveliness and dimmed the red sparkling colours of your face, changed the roses to quickfading anemones? Why are you fainting and growing weaker? Have you heard yourself those insults which the people are shouting? Curse the tongue of women, from which all troubles come! Tell me who laid rough hands on your girdle—hide it not! Which of the gods has besmirched you, which has ravished your maidenhood? If Ares has wedded my girl in secret, if he has slept with Semele and neglected Aphrodite, let him come to your bed grasping his spear as a marriage-gift—your mother knows her begetter, the terrible warrior! If quickshoe Hermes has made merry bridal with you, if he has forgotten his own Peitho for Semele's beauty, let him bring you his rod to herald your wedding, or let him fit you with his own golden shoes as a gift worthy of your bed, that you too may be goldshod like Hera the bedfellow of Zeus! If handsome Apollo has come from heaven to be your husband, if he has forgotten Daphne because of his love for Semele, let him away with furtive guile, and come to you through the

> air drawn in his car by singing swans, and dancing delicately let him offer his harp as a gift for your favours, to show a trusty proof of the wedding! Cadmos will know that heavenly harp at sight, for he saw it, and heard the melodious tones, when it made music at his festal board for the wedding of Harmonia with a mortal. If Seabluehair went womanmad and forced you, preferring you to Melanippe the sage, sung by the poet, let him make merry in full view, and plant the prongs of his trident as a bridal gift before the gates of Cadmos; so let him bestow the same honour beside snakecherishing Dirce, as he gave to dragonbreeding Lerna in the Argive country as a mark of his marriage with Amymone, where the place of the Lernaian nymph still bears the trident's name. But why do I call you the bedfellow of Earthshaker? What tokens have you of Poseidon's bed? Tyro was embraced in a flood by watery hands, when counterfeit Enipeus came with his deceitful bubbling stream. Or if as you say, Cronion is your bridegroom, let him come to your bed with amorous thunders, armed with bridal lightning, that people may say—'Hera and Semele both have thunders in waiting for the bedchamber!' The consort of Zeus may be jealous, but she will not hurt you, for Ares your mother's father will not allow it. Europa is more happy than Semele, for a horned Zeus carried her on his back; the hoof of the lovestricken bull ran unwetted on the top of the water, and one so mighty was Love's boat. O what a great miracle! A maiden held the reins of him who holds the reins of heaven! I call Danaë happier than Semele, for into her bosom Zeus poured a shower of gold from the roof, torrents of mad love in abundant showers! But that most blessed bride asked no gifts of gold; her lovegift was her whole husband. But let us be quiet, or your father Cadmos will hear.

Just like Phthonus' speech to Hera, Hera's speech to Semele (8.207–263) aims to make the addressee jealous. But whereas Phthonus as Ares could come straight to the point and open his speech with a strong claim to raise Hera's indignation, Hera as Semele's nurse has to approach the subject more gradually in order to avoid suspicion. Under the pretext of concern for Semele's health, she starts her speech with a series of questions on Semele's changed appearance (part 1: 207–215).[61] Before raising the ultimate question, asking for the name of the god with whom Semele has slept (215: τίς σε θεῶν ἐμίηνε; τίς ἥρπασε σεῖο κορείην;), she cleverly mentions the gossip of other women and takes sides against them

61 For this topos see also 1.1.1.

(213: ἀρχεκάκων […] θηλυτεράων), thus emphasising her own loyalty to Semele. By adding this detail, Hera skilfully underlines the moral character (ἦθος) of the trustworthy nurse.

The remainder of the speech (216–263) is constructed as a series of hypotheses, each developing the possibility that a different god has deflowered Semele and each time challenging the god to bring Semele a suitable wedding gift: Ares should bring his spear (216–219), Hermes his golden shoes (220–225), Apollo his harp (226–234) and Poseidon his trident (235–246).[62] Each time, it is also mentioned which other beloved ones the god must have left behind to visit Semele (Aphrodite, Peitho, Daphne and Amymone), thus subtly preparing the theme of rivalry and jealousy. Ironically, in line 225 Hera also mentions herself and puts Semele on a par with her (both will be χρυσοπέδιλος when Semele receives Hermes' golden shoes), which could be regarded as a first incentive for Semele to compare herself to her mightiest rival.

The nurse's final hypothesis is Zeus. It is also the hypothesis most lengthily elaborated upon (247–263).[63] As is clear from line 247 (ὡς ἐνέπεις), it is, moreover, not merely a hypothesis. The nurse claims to refer to Semele's own version of the facts, which Semele is then challenged to prove correct. Hera continues her speech, carefully setting a rhetorical trap for Semele, by first holding out high hopes for her of being deemed equal to Hera (247–252, with a potential τις-speech and a false warranty that Hera will not hurt her)[64] and then stimulating her jealousy by declaring her to be put at a disadvantage in comparison to Zeus' other mortal loves (253–261: Europa and Danae).

62 A similar series of hypotheses can be found in 11.315–350 (Dionysus speculating who has killed Ampelus), 11.431–463 (Calamus speculating who has killed Carpus), 33.118–139 (Eros trying to guess the cause of Aphrodite's distress) and 48.392–413 (Aura speculating who has raped her), to mention only a few elaborate examples of this recurring topos in Nonnus. See also under 5.2 for six speeches in which there is a speculative catalogue of hypotheses concerning the identity of a beautiful stranger.

63 See also Chuvin 1992, 107: "Il y a une progression dans la longueur des développements consacrés à chacun de ces amants hypothétiques: 4-6-9-12 vers. Enfin vient la mention de Zeus en 15 ou 16 vers (v. 248–263)."

64 The false guarantee that Hera will not hurt Semele, because she is Ares' grandchild, serves as an argument on the level of the communication between the characters (argument function). But to the reader this claim, of course, underlines the irony of the situation (key function), for Hera uses it as an argument in her ruse against Semele and thus breaks her promise while saying it. Strictly speaking, however, Hera does not directly harm Semele as it is Zeus who will eventually kill her.

4.3.4 *Step by Step: φθόνος and ἀπάτη in the Story of Semele*

A few more remarks can be added on this cluster of three "deceptive" speeches. In Nonnus' version of the story, Hera's ruse is segmented into three consecutive tableaux which could be entitled: (1) Hera's jealousy, (2) Hera's plan and preparations and (3) the execution of Hera's ruse. Tableaux (1) and (2) are additions to the canonical story and seem to externalize and theatrically elaborate on a mental process. Hera's encounter with Phthonus illustrates her increasing jealousy (φθόνος) and could be compared with Hera's jealous monologue preceding her actions against Semele in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.262–272); her encounter with Apate illustrates the preparation phase of her ruse (ἀπάτη), for which the preparations taken in the build-up of the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode in *Iliad* 14 (161–291) serve Nonnus as a model. The cestus of Aphrodite (love) is adapted to the situation as the cestus of Apate (deceit).

For parallels to this use of personifications as speaking characters, it is possible to refer to the other two speeches analysed in this chapter: Ampelus' fatal decision (ἄτη) to ride a bull, made under the influence of Ate, and Zeus' victory (νίκη), announced by Nike's exhortation. There are quite a few more examples to be found in the *Dionysiaca*. I already mentioned Peitho "Persuasion" (48.597–598), who *persuades* Aura to drink the wine (see above, n. 17). There is also Atropus "Unchangeable Fate" (12.142–171), who plays a similar role when she announces to Dionysus the fulfilment of his *fate* as the god of Wine, and Eris "Battle" and Phobus "Fear" (20.44–89), who exhort Dionysus to *battle* after his peaceful visit to the court of Staphylus. These are probably the most conspicuous examples.

Deities who intervene in a mythological story in accordance with their field of power are, of course, no novelty (cf. Aphrodite's cestus). Nonnus' Hypnus ("Sleep") is, for example, clearly based on the appearance of Hypnus in the *Iliad*, but whereas Hypnus is presented in both poems as a full-blown mythological character, afraid to be punished by Zeus, relying on the help of his powerful mother and deeply in love with Pasithea, the deities mentioned in the brief overview above seem to be presented merely as the symbols of the power they represent. Nonnus' *Ate*, on the other hand, may recall the mentioning of Ate in the *Iliad* (19.91), but her intervention as a speaking character gives her a new dimension. I think it is possible to state that they are a new type of speaking character, for which no real equivalents can be found in Homer, Apollonius or Quintus.[65] Nonnus stages them to fulfil a new role in the narrative, which, as

65 For personifications in Vergil and Ovid, see Lowe 2008. Although especially Ovid provides interesting parallels for Nonnus, also staging a personification of envy (Invidia in *Met.*

has also been suggested by Laura Miguélez Cavero (2014, 177–180), can be connected to the ways personifications are used in the visual arts.[66] Interestingly, she also connects the fact that personifications appear as speaking characters to contemporary rhetorical practices (2013a, 364):

> In general, the attribution of speeches to personifications of abstract ideas (prosopopoeae) was common in judiciary and deliberative eloquence from the classical period onwards, in both the Greek- and Latin-speaking worlds (e.g. Demosthenes and Cicero). In imperial times, they became more frequent and were employed as a means of attributing an exhortation or congratulation to a figure more persuasive than the speaker himself.

Returning now to the narrative structure of the Semele episode, it should also be noted that the three long speeches analysed in this chapter each represent the central action of the scene to which they belong. Each consecutive tableau consists of an introductory part, a "deceptive" or at least "manipulative" speech (of roughly the same length) and a (mostly non-verbal) reaction of the addressee, after which the pattern is repeated. The start of book 8 is in fact so well-balanced that, as was noticed by Pierre Chuvin (1992, 105), even Paul Collart, "si attentif à toutes les irrégularités nonniennes" could not find fault with it.[67]

The parallels that run through the three speeches, without, however, causing too much repetition, further underline this unity of composition. The argument of Zeus' adultery—common to all three speeches—is in each speech subtly adapted to the different perspectives and goals of the three speakers. Under 4.3.2, I have already drawn attention to the recurring argument of Ares' flight from Olympus. Each of the speeches also contains a small catalogue of Zeus'

2.708–832), the personifications in the *Metamorphoses* (Invidia, Somnus, Fama, Fames) never appear as speaking characters.

66 Another factor of possible influence is the allegorical reading of epic poetry (esp. Homer) in Late Antiquity and the production of allegorical (epic) poetry such as Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*. See on this topic Lamberton 1986, esp. chapter 4 "The interaction of Allegorical Interpretation and Deliberate Allegory" (144–161). On personifications in Greek culture, literature and art see also Herrin and Stafford 2005.

67 Also Chuvin 1992, 105: "la composition de cette partie du poème apparaît particulièrement soignée, aussi bien dans les proportions que dans la progression dramatique et dans l'enchaînement des épisodes."

beloved ones. These catalogues, however, each time present a different selection of his many mortal and divine loves, adapted to the persuasive strategy of the speech. In Phthonus' speech, the examples of Io and Leto serve as examples of "avenged lovers", in order to incite Hera to action. Hera's own speech contains examples of the catasterismus of Zeus' beloved ones and their sons ("rewarded lovers") in order to arouse pity for Hera herself. Finally, in her speech to Semele, Hera idealizes the stories of Europa's and Danae's encounters with Zeus ("glorious lovers") in order to make Semele jealous.

The three manipulative speeches in this episode thus appear to be part of a consciously composed whole in which they play a central role. By adding two more scenes to the well-known story of Hera's deception of Semele, Nonnus increases the number of deceptive speeches in this episode from one, as would be expected, to a varied but strongly interconnected series of three. This carefully constructed episode is a good illustration of Nonnus' poetical practice: taking a traditional story as point of departure, he elaborates and expands beyond what is necessary for the story, beyond the expected or realistic, in order to play on the reader's expectation patterns and allusively engage with his models. Each time the narrator introduces a "deceptive speech", our attention is drawn to the manipulative rhetoric and the adaptation of the argumentation to the situation. Attention is drawn to the moral character adopted by the speaker, especially when in disguise, and to the sensibilities of the addressee. Rhetorical skill is truly on display in this episode.

4.4 True or False? As Long as It is Artful

Returning, finally, to the principle I used to define my corpus in this chapter, I think it is possible to conclude that, when the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* refers to a speech as deceptive, this "label" can refer to a broad category of speeches, including, but far from exclusively so, lying tales in the style of Odysseus' Cretan stories or Hera's false pretence in Homer's Διὸς ἀπάτη. What the 29 speeches, selected in this way, however, all seem to have in common is a certain rhetorical resourcefulness (often combined with a disguise), with the help of which the manipulative or persuasive goal of the speech is easily achieved. The only exception with regard to the success of the speeches is the series of courting speeches in book 42 (speeches 27–29), which will be analysed separately in chapter 6.

The introduction of the speech by the narrator seems to function as an incentive for the narratee not to take the speech at face value but to appreciate the many double-entendres in these speeches, the effect of role play and the

clever application of rhetorical means of persuasion to the world of mythology. The label seems not in the first place to refer to the hostile intentions of the speaker towards the addressee, and thus to deception as something negative, but rather to invite a positive evaluation of the speech's craft. Not what is being told matters, but rather how it is being told—or, to rephrase Callimachus' metapoetical statement in his Hymn to Zeus (line 65: ψευδοίμην, ἀίοντος ἅ κεν πεπίθοιεν ἀκουήν):[68] it does not matter if it is true or false as long as it is formulated in such a way that it appeals to the listener. By adding this line, Callimachus invites his audience to appreciate his poetry for its artfulness, which is—in my opinion—also the effect of the speech introduction lines in Nonnus.

68 "I would tell fictions of the sort that would persuade the ear of the listener" (transl. Stephens 2015).

CHAPTER 5

Ecphrastic Ethopoeae and the Perspective of the Text-Internal Observer*

Passing from the "deceptive" speeches of the previous chapter to the soliloquies that will be analysed in this chapter would seem a big step, if it were not for the common rhetorical ground. The speeches in the *Dionysiaca*, and especially—but not exclusively—the many soliloquies, have often been compared to rhetorical ethopoeae composed to answer the assignment "what X would say in situation Y". I have already touched upon this matter in previous chapters and especially drew attention to the construction of ἦθος. Already in antiquity, this rhetorical exercise was regarded as a connecting thread between the rhetorical and poetical traditions. In Theon's *Progymnasmata*, for example, the exercise of the ethopoea is described as useful for rhetoricians, historians and poets alike.[1] It is, moreover, also presented as the exercise par excellence for which the student of rhetoric can draw on Homer for examples for imitation "because of his ability to attribute the right words to each of the characters he introduces."[2] Both the rhetorical treatises of Theon, Ps.-Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus and the collections of school ethopoeae that have come to us (for example in Libanius' *Progymnasmata*) abound with examples of a Homeric flavour, most often featuring Iliadic characters.

Conversely, one could say that every speech in epic poetry can in a sense be called an ethopoea, because it is a speech written to fit a character. The rhetorical exercise of writing ethopoeae detached from a narrative context, which had become part of the school curriculum from the early Roman imperial period

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1 Theon 60.22–27 (Spengel): καὶ ἡ προσωποποιΐα δὲ οὐ μόνον ἱστορικὸν γύμνασμά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥητορικὸν καὶ διαλογικὸν καὶ ποιητικόν, κἀν τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν βίῳ, κἀν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίαις πολυωφελέστατον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐντεύξεις τῶν συγγραμμάτων χρησιμώτατον. "And prosôpopoeia (personification) is not only an historical exercise but applicable also to oratory and dialogue and poetry, and is most advantageous in everyday life and in our conversations with each other, and (understanding of it) is most useful in study of prose writings" (transl. Kennedy 2003).

2 Theon 60.27–29 (Spengel): διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον μὲν Ὅμηρον ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι οἰκείους λόγους περιτέθεικεν ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰσαγομένων προσώπων (transl. Kennedy 2003). See also Aristotle, *Poet.* 1460a and the discussion of this passage under Introduction, p. 16.

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onwards, however, also clearly left its mark on the literary production of that period. The influence of the rhetorical ethopoeae on Nonnus' speech composition was first noticed by Wifstrand (1933, 141–154). Its importance for the composition of the *Dionysiaca* and late antique poetry in general has been convincingly demonstrated in recent publications by, among others, Gianfranco Agosti (2005)[3] and Laura Miguélez Cavero (2008, 316–340).[4] I will, however, take as my starting point in this chapter the preliminary work of Peter Krafft (1975), whose hypotheses and intriguing observations raise questions which thus far have remained unanswered.

Elaborating on Wifstrand's observation (1933, 47–54) of the resemblance between the numerous soliloquies in the *Dionysiaca* and the preserved examples of rhetorical ethopoeae, Krafft, in his article "Erzählung und Psychagogie in Nonnos' *Dionysiaka*" (1975), makes an interesting distinction between the monologues and soliloquies of the main characters of the *Dionysiaca* and those of minor characters, often also anonymous figures: soldiers, Nymphs and Satyrs. This latter group of characters in many cases seems to make its appearance in the story with the sole purpose of delivering their speech, before disappearing again (Krafft 1975, 111–112).

> Während die einen von Personen gesprochen werden, die an der Erzählhandlung direkt oder mittelbar Anteil haben, […], fallen andere Selbstäußerungen eigens zu diesem Zweck eingeführten und sofort nach der Erfüllung dieser Sprecherrolle wieder verschwindenden Figuren zu. Dienen die Monologe der ersten Gruppe zwar nicht mehr der Handlung, aber doch der Darstellung des Affekts von Personen, die (direkt oder mittelbar) in die Handlung einbezogen sind, so sind jene der zweiten Gruppe nun vollends auf außerhalb der Erzählhandlung stehende πρόσωπα verlagert und somit schon aufgrund ihrer Sprecher aus dieser herausgelöst.

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3 The volume of articles edited by Amato and Schamp (2005), dedicated to ethopoea in the imperial and late antique period, in which Agosti's article is published, focusses on the interplay between rhetorical theory, school practice and literary production. Agosti, in an appendix to his article, gives an interesting overview of late antique poetic ethopoeae (55–56), including a (non-exhaustive) list of ethopoeic speeches in Nonnus.

4 Chapter 4 of her book on the poetry from the Thebaid (200–600 AD) focusses on the influence of rhetorical school-practice. In 4.5 'Ethopoea' (316–340), she discusses the theory of the ethopoea (4.5.1) and the individual hexametric ethopoeae surviving on papyrus (4.5.2). She launches the idea that the narrator of Triphiodorus' *Sack of Troy* speaks "in character of" an Homeric bard (4.5.3) and furthermore discusses the examples from the *Codex Visionum* (4.5.4), the presence of ethopoeic speeches in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (4.5.5, 336–339) and the ethopoeae in the *Palatine Anthology* (4.5.6).

Krafft argues that, generally, the speeches of the main characters in the *Dionysiaca* are a means of characterization, illustrating the character's ἦθος. These speeches can, according to Krafft, be compared to rhetorical ethopoeae.[5] However, he also expresses his doubts as to whether the soliloquies of minor characters that disappear immediately after their speech can also be connected to this aim of characterization.[6] After a brief discussion of a number of examples in Nonnus,[7] Krafft concludes with the hypothesis that these speeches are, above all, means to characterize the scene and the feelings it provokes (Krafft 1975, 123):

> Dienen somit für die erzählte Handlung funktionslose, auf die handelnden Personen nicht einwirkende Szenen und Aussprüche—sei es exponierend, sei es ausmalend—der Färbung, Stimmung, Bedeutung, d.h. im weiteren Sinne dem ἦθος der jeweils erzählten Begebenheit, so dürfte die Hypothese erlaubt sein, daß auch längere 'Selbstäußerungen' in den *Dionysiaka*—sofern sie ad hoc eingeführten Sprecherrollen statt am Geschehen Beteiligten übertragen sind—weniger der Expektoration des an sich und für die Handlung bedeutungslosen Sprechenden als vielmehr der Charakterisierung einer Situation wegen entworfen wurden.

5 Krafft (1975, 112) claims that the many soliloquies of the main characters (he uses Dionysus' own amorous complaints in books 16, 42 and 48 as an example), have their "Eigeninteresse" as a "zum Selbstzweck gewordenen rhetorischen Ethopoiie". They help to characterize the protagonists of the poem: "Wie der Rhetor das ἦθος einer Person oder eines Menschentypus […] in einer bestimmten Situation, so will der Epiker mit solchen Monologen die Empfindungen **einer durch ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Handlung interessierenden Person** in einem bestimmten Moment dieser Handlung porträtieren" (my emphasis).

6 Krafft (1975, 112) "Ob jedoch die gänzlich außerhalb des Geschehens stehenden Sprecherrollen, denen Nonnos nicht wenige Monologe zuweist, bedeutend genug sind, um eine Darstellung ihres ἦθος nicht in einer Situation, sondern allenfalls bei deren Anblick mit Hilfe einer Selbstäußerung zu rechtfertigen, erscheint hingegen fraglich." Ethopoeae as they are written in a school context, detached from any broader narrative context, of course also do not contribute *to* a broader characterization strategy, but *are* characterizations in their own right.

7 Krafft discusses the speech of Nicaea in the Aura episode (48.814–826), Semele's comments after her apotheosis (9.208–242, 10.129–136), Aphrodite's reaction to the Chalcomede episode (35.164–183), the various speeches by suddenly appearing Nymphs (2.98–108, 2.113–162, 7.226–254, 22.90–113, 22.392–401, 42.100–107, 48.522–526) and the speech of Hera commenting on Zeus' metamorphosis into a bull (1.326–343). The majority of these speeches will be discussed in further detail below.

In this chapter, I start from Krafft's observations in order to analyse a number of the minor characters' speeches with regard to their function in the narrative and how they affect the reader's perception of the poem. I would suggest calling these speeches "ecphrastic ethopoeae", because of the emphasis on sensory perceptions (visual or gustative) that is often present in them.[8] They are spoken by characters that do not contribute to the action but merely observe, undergo and react to events in the poem. Therefore, they can, to a certain extent, be regarded as intermediaries between the events in the plot and the reader's perception of it.

"Ecphrastic", moreover, also draws a line of connection to the rhetorical theory on ekphrasis, which I will use in my analysis. I will here use the term ekphrasis, not in the modern sense of a description of a work of art, but as it was understood in antiquity as "a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes."[9] The minor characters, I will argue, can be regarded as text-internal observers, guiding the reader's perception of the events in the poem, and can—in this respect—be compared with the "observer figures" that are often present in ecphrastic tableaux.[10]

"Ethopoea", of course, refers to the practice of speechwriting as it was taught to students in rhetorical schools. But I also want to use the term as a starting point for a discussion of the narrative function of these speeches in Nonnus. I will argue that, in their narrative context, these presumably "funktionslose" soliloquies need not be regarded merely as examples of a rhetorical school exercise. Rather, they are an integral part of the Nonnian narrator's presentation strategy.

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8 Inspired by my preliminary work on this topic, Joshua Fincher has also written a chapter about this type of speech in his thus far unpublished doctoral dissertation (2015, 234–307). Following my lead, but focussing on the characters uttering the speeches rather than on the speeches themselves, he calls them "ecphrastic narrators".

9 This definition of ekphrasis is the opening line of Ruth Webb's 2009 monograph *Ekphrasis, imagination and persuasion in ancient rhetorical theory and practice*. It is her translation of Ps.-Hermogenes' definition (*Prog.* 10.1 Patillon).

10 De Jong (2014, 120) defines five parameters of ekphrasis: "The fourth parameter is the figure of the observer: a narrator often makes one of the characters look at the work of art, primarily to strengthen the integration of the description in the narrative. But the observer figure offers all kinds of extra possibilities: he or she may react emotionally to the work of art and interpret it, correctly or incorrectly." Observer figures, or "supernumerary figures" as Elsner (2007, 29) calls them, are also present in the visual arts, "questioning the viewer's own spectatorship by offering some pictorial models of the act of viewing within the picture."

After an introductory overview of the range of speeches in Nonnus that could be said to correspond to Krafft's definition and are spoken by (what I call) text-internal observers, two case studies will be elaborated in further detail. In part two of this chapter, I will focus on a number of speeches by characters, introduced in the poem as ignorant onlookers, who try to interpret the things they see and speculate about the identity of the protagonists. Their ignorance is contrasted—and in two cases literally juxtaposed—with the omniscience of a second category of characters, the divine onlookers, whose mocking comments are analysed in part three.

5.1 Suddenly Appearing Characters and Their Speeches

Whereas Krafft only provides a few examples to support his theory, it is possible to take his observations as a starting point for a broader survey. He states that there is a large number of speeches spoken by characters who are (1) not directly involved in the action nor influence the action by their speech,[11] and (2) introduced shortly before and disappear from our sight immediately after their speech. They react to the events in the poem without actively participating in them. My own search for more examples answering to Krafft's description resulted in a long list, which can be divided into three main groups based on the identity of the speaker. I would propose the following division:

(1) Anonymous characters (ἀορίστων προσώπων)
(2) Named characters (ὡρισμένων προσώπων)
  a. Mythological characters (mortals and lower deities)
  b. Deities

Although the exact classification in some cases may be open to discussion, this distinction helps to explain certain recurring elements in each of the groups.

Regarding the first group, it is important to know that there is a remarkably large group (27 in total) of anonymous speaking characters in the *Dionysiaca*.[12]

11 See also Krafft 1975, 114: "Nirgends haben der Augenzeuge und sein Begleiter Anteil an der Handlung, noch werden sie von den handelnden Personen überhaupt wahrgenommen, und ebensowenig erfährt der Leser, wo sie sich denn während des von ihnen Beobachteten befanden bzw. wie sie gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt zusammentrafen."

12 The frequency with which anonymous characters are introduced is a feature common to Nonnus and Quintus. The *Posthomerica*, as a relatively short epic poem with only 175 speeches in total, provides 10 examples (+ 6 speeches by the collective of the Greek or

These can be roughly divided into two subgroups. On the one hand, there are those who appear in the poem as representatives of a larger crowd which, as a crowd, takes part in the action. Their speeches can in this case best be compared to the category of the actual τις-speeches in Homer, described by Irene de Jong (1987b) as anonymous speeches representing the opinion of the masses.[13] There are, however, some important differences between the actual τις-speeches in Homer and the more elaborate anonymous speeches in Nonnus, as in Nonnus the speaking character is usually much more individualized (both by the speech and its immediate context).[14] A good example is the lengthy speech of the anonymous Indian soldier falling in love with the Bacchante he has killed (see under 1.3). Interesting speeches with respect to my approach in this chapter are the speeches by an anonymous Indian (14.419–437) and an anonymous farmer (47.78–103), describing in amazement the sensation (colour, smell, taste and effect) of drinking wine. However, the speeches of this sub-group of characters are not further discussed in this chapter because of the involvement—however limited—of the speakers in the action. The second subgroup consists of speeches by anonymous characters who do not participate at all in the story in which they suddenly appear. I have found thirteen such examples in Nonnus, which are listed and discussed under 5.1.1 below.

The second category of speeches that seems to correspond to Krafft's description differs from the first in that the speakers are named. When following the distinction made by Ps.-Hermogenes (*Prog.* 9.3 Patillon) for ethopoeae, the speeches from the first category can be equated with ἠθοποιίαι ἀορίστων προσώπων (ethopoeae of indefinite characters or type-characters) and the speeches from the second category consequently can be equated with ἠθοποιίαι ὡρισμένων προσώπων (ethopoeae of historical or mythological characters). Mythological characters such as Galatea (6.319–324), Alpheus (6.346–365) and Niobe (14.274–282) appear without any introduction in the story and react to the

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Trojan troops). The *Iliad* provides 10 examples and one speech by a collective (see also de Jong 1987b). In the *Dionysiaca* there is one speech by a collective (40.217: the victory cry of the Bacchic troops).

13 Of the 27 anonymous speaking characters, six are soldiers in the Indian or Bacchic army (14.419–437, 23.79–103, 28.144–149, 29.52–67, 34.236–246 and 35.37–77), one is part of the group of Indian women in the city under siege (24.201–212) and one is part of the group of Attic farmers connected to Icarius (47.78–103). For the distinction between actual τις-speech and potential τις-speech, see also chapter 3.1.

14 Quintus seems to remain much closer to the Homeric model in this respect. Note that the opposite is true for the potential τις-speeches in Nonnus, about whose identity no clues whatsoever are given (see under 3.1.3).

situations from their own personal perspective and mythological background—which is the most important difference between their speeches and the speeches of anonymous observers. I have counted six such examples, listed below under 5.1.2.

The developments in the plot are, however, not only commented upon by humans, Nymphs and Satyrs, but also by a number of deities. Their position in the sky or on Olympus gives them an overview of all things happening on earth. These divinities are actively participating characters in other parts of the narrative, but, for the time being, do not interfere and simply watch the events below. They mockingly comment on the misfortune of their adversaries and boast of the successes of their favourites. Six examples are listed below under 5.1.3.

5.1.1 *Anonymous Observers*

I have counted 13 examples of speeches by anonymous figures, who can be regarded as text-internal observers:

1.	Achaean sailor	1.93–124 (32)	on Zeus and Europa	to himself
2.	Hamadryad	2.98–108 (11)	on the Typhonomachy	to other Nymph
3.	Hamadryad	2.113–162 (50)	on the Typhonomachy	reply
4.	Crow	3.103–122 (20)	mocking advice	to Cadmus
5.	Passenger	4.238–246 (9)	on Cadmus and Harmonia	to himself
6.	Naiad	7.226–254 (29)	on Semele	to herself
7.	Satyr	10.280–286 (7)	on (his love for) Ampelus	to himself
8.	Satyr	16.312–319 (8)	on Dionysus and Nicaea	to Pan (+ reply)
9.	Naiad	22.392–401 (10)	supplication	to Dionysus
10.	Someone watching the battle	36.259–270 (12)	on Charopea's actions	to himself
11.	Naiad (Pêgaia)	42.100–107 (8)	mocking advice	to Dionysus
12.	Inhabitant of Argos	47.498–532	mocking advice: Dionysus and Perseus compared	to Dionysus
13.	Hamadryad	48.522–526 (5)	sincere advice	to Dionysus

As is clear from this overview, some of these speeches are soliloquies, uttered without any audience but overheard by the narrator. Others are part of a short dialogue: the two Hamadryads in book 2 and a Satyr and Pan in book 16 (see below under 5.1.2, no. 19) converse *with each other* about the main events in the plot, but do not interact with the protagonists of the poem. They are text-

internal observers, conversing amongst themselves. Yet others directly address the protagonist of the episode in which they occur and give advice (nos. 4, 9, 11 and 12), but the total absence of any reaction makes it impossible to determine whether the addressee actually hears the speech.

In most cases, the speaking character and the speech itself are only introduced by two or three lines, identifying the speaker and in some cases explicitly indicating his or her arrival on the scene: Naiads pop out of the water, Hamadryads out of the bushes (22.391 ὑπερκύψασα ῥοάων 48.519: ὑπερκύψασα κορύμβου). In nine cases (nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12), the introductory lines also mention a visual stimulus for the speech (1.90: εἰσορόων, 2.112: εἰσορόωσα, 4.237: ὁρόων, 7.224: ὀπιπεύουσα, 10.278: ἰδών, 16.311: ἰδών, 36.258: ἰδών, 42.98: ἐσαθρήσασα and 47.496: ἰδών).

Another two or three lines serve to cap the speech and conclude the passage. In several cases, the departure of the speaking character is explicitly mentioned: the sailor passes on (1.125: περόων), the Nymphs disappear again into their natural environment (23.1: ἐδύσατο φοίνιον ὕδωρ, 42.108: πηγαῖον ἐδύσατο σύγχρονον ὕδωρ and 48.528: δυσαμένη δρυόεντα πάλιν δόμον).

Regarding both the content and the context of the speech, it is possible to note a couple of recurring elements. They occur most frequently in an amatory context (nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 13). In three cases (nos. 1, 5 and 6), the speech is an amazed reaction, uttered by someone who sees the protagonist(s) of the episode, marvels at their beauty and speculates about their identity. These three speeches will be discussed as a case study in the second part of this chapter. Two other speeches are the reactions of jealous observers of the protagonist's amatory success (nos. 7 and 8). Three are pieces of spontaneously given amatory advice (nos. 4, 11 and 13). The remaining five are uttered in a context of war. Three (nos. 2, 3 and 9) consider themselves the ultimate victims of the chaos and dangers of the ongoing war. One (no. 10) comments on the vigorous actions of Charopea, one (no. 12) compares the vigour of Dionysus and Perseus, much like the narrator himself does in the second prologue (cf. 25.98–147).[15]

15 The speech by an anonymous Hamadryad to Dionysus (22.90–113), warning him of an ambush, is not included in this list because her speech (a) is actually heard by Dionysus and (b) has a clear influence on the plot. Her arrival is marked as crucial for the plot development by the narrator, who highlights the transition from the previous passage with an "if-not situation": The Indian troops would have taken the Bacchic army by surprise if this Hamadryad had not warned Dionysus (22.82–84: καί νύ κεν ἀφράστοιο διαθρῴσκοντες ἐναύλου | δαινυμέναις στρατιῇσιν ἐπέχραον αἴθοπες Ἰνδοί· | ἀλλά τις ...). On this type of narratorial intervention in the *Iliad*, see de Jong (2004^2, 68–81). For its occurrence in the *Dionysiaca*, see Geisz 2013, 247–257.

5.1.2 *Mythological Figures*

The only real difference between the anonymous speeches of the previous category and the speeches listed below lies in the fact that, in this case, the speakers are named.

14.	Pan	6.302–317 (16)	on the deluge	to Galatea
15.	Galatea	6.319–324 (6)	on the deluge	reply
16.	Alpheus	6.346–365 (20)	on the deluge	to Pyramus and Nile
17.	Niobe	14.274–282 (9)	sincere advice	to the Indians
18.	Melie	16.231–243 (13)	mockery	to Dionysus
19.	Pan	16.321–338 (18)	on Dionysus and Nicaea	to Satyr (= reply)

This name, however, is not always of equal significance. Melie's name, for example, adds little "extra" meaning to her appearance, as her speech contains no reference to her own mythological background. It could have been spoken by any local Nymph and has to be read in connection to the two other short speeches by local Nymphs to Dionysus each time he falls desperately in love with a reluctant beauty (cf. nos. 11 and 13). Also similar to these other two examples are the introductory and capping lines, marking the entrance (16.228: δι᾽ εὐπετάλου δὲ κορύμβου) and exit (16.245: καὶ δρυὸς ἐντὸς ἵκανεν ὁμήλικος) of the Nymph in the story, who, however, this time does not react to a visual but to an auditory stimulus (16.229: εἰσαΐουσα).[16]

Galatea, Alpheus, Niobe and Pan, on the other hand, are well-known mythological characters. The composition of speeches in character of these colourful mythological figures allows Nonnus to include a large number of mythological references and to evoke their respective background stories through allusions, leaving open crucial information for the reader to fill in, who will have to draw on his own knowledge of the mythological tradition.[17]

16 In the introductory lines to three of these six speeches (nos. 14, 16 and 17), a visual stimulus is mentioned.

17 Speeches which share some of these characteristics, but are not included in this list because the speaking character is more actively participating in the plot are: (1). the speech of Pithos (20.137–141). He is a servant at the court of Staphylus and Botrys who is afterwards metamorphosed into a wine-jar (πίθος) and comments on his own metamorphosis. His speech could—according to Apth. *Prog.* 11.1 (Patillon)—be called a προσωποποιία or personification and has an epigram-like character. (2) The speech of Thetis in 33.351–382. She appears at the shore—almost as a *deus ex machina*—when Chalcomede

Whereas Galatea, Alpheus and Niobe are not in any way associated with the mythology of Dionysus, Pan is part of Dionysus' usual entourage, but not involved in the episodes to which he reacts. He is also the only recurring speaking character on this list. Apart from these two speeches (nos. 14 and 19), he also appears in book 42 to give Dionysus amatory advice (42.205–273). It is worth noting that Pan is twice involved in a short dialogue with a fellow observing character (a Satyr in nos. 8 and 19 and Galatea in nos. 14 and 15).

Instead of delivering a soliloquy, the one character in these cases addresses the other and together they react to the main plot developments in the form of a dialogue (compare also the dialogue of the two Hamadryads, nos. 2 and 3). Similarly, Alpheus (no. 16) addresses two other mythological characters: his fellow river(s) the Nile and Pyramus,[18] but they do not answer his speech. When discussing these speeches in terms of the rhetorical theory on ethopoeae, it is possible to refer to the distinction made by Ps.-Hermogenes (*Prog.* 9.4 Patillon) between cases in which the speaker pronounces the speech just by himself (ἁπλαῖ) (as a soliloquy) and cases in which another character is addressed and a response is given (διπλαῖ). This second option makes the exercise more complex, because now the speeches not only have to be in character and appropriate for the occasion but also adapted to the addressee (cf. also Theon (115.22–30 Spengel) and Nicolaus (64 Felten)). The occurrence of three short dialogues on my list (nos. 2 & 3, 14 & 15 and 8 & 19) is especially remarkable in view of the relative rarity of dialogue in Nonnus. As dialogues between mythological characters discussing mythological events, they recall Lucian's sophistic dialogues (especially the *Dialogi marini* and the *Dialogi deorum*) and reflect a similar taste for sophisticated play with mythological and literary knowledge.[19]

is about to drown herself in the sea. Her speech is introduced with an if-not situation (cf. n. 15 above on the speech of a Hamadryad) and she appears not only to speak out (with effect on the plot) but also to take action (she covers Chalcomede in a fog to help her escape Morrheus' notice). And (3) the speech of Psamathe (43.361–371), a Naiad Nymph who pops up out of the sea to ask Zeus to stop the war. Her prayers are heard and have a clear influence on the plot.

18 The story of Pyramus and Thisbe is, of course, well known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4.55–165), but according to Vian (1976, ad loc.), Nonnus follows the version of the story that is also found in Nicolaus' *Progymnasmata* (*Rhet. Gr.* 1.271 Walz), in which Pyramus is pitied by the gods and metamorphosed into a river.

19 A good example of literary ethopoeae with replies are also Ovid's (or ps-Ovid's) *Her.* 16–21.

5.1.3 *Divine Observers*

20.	Hera	1.326–343 (18)	on Zeus and Europa	to Zeus/Apollo/herself
21.	Selene	4.216–225 (10)	on Harmonia and Cadmus	to Harmonia/herself
22.	Semele	9.208–242 (35)	on Dionysus	to Hera/herself
23.	Semele	10.129–136 (8)	on Dionysus	to Ino/herself
24.	Aphrodite	35.164–183 (20)	on Morrheus and Chalcomede	to Ares
25.	Poseidon	39.273–291 (19)	reproaches	to Dionysus/his own entourage

Whereas the speakers of the first two categories, listed above, are—with the exception of Pan—all one-time speakers, this third list contains only recurring speaking characters. Especially Hera, Semele and Aphrodite have a significant role to play in the story of the *Dionysiaca*. Their speeches, therefore, are important also for their characterization throughout the poem. Nonetheless, these six speeches have several characteristics in common with those of the two previous lists.

The five speeches by the goddesses (nos. 20–24) are very much alike: they all comment on the events in the poem and do so from a bird's-eye perspective. They do not come down to earth to give their speeches (cf. the anonymous and mythological characters which are in most cases mentioned as arriving and departing again) but maintain their higher viewpoint. Only a few lines before their speeches, their watching presence is introduced by the narrator. Hera (no. 20) and Selene (no. 21) are watching the events alone (1.324 and 4.213: ὁρόωσα); Semele (no. 23) and Aphrodite (no. 24) are accompanied by respectively Zeus (who shows Semele what is happening on earth; 10.126: ἐπεδείκνυε) and Ares (to whom Aphrodite shows what is happening on earth; 35.161: ἐδείκνυεν). Only in the case of Semele's first speech (no. 22) do the introductory lines not contain a reference to viewing, with the bird's-eye perspective only made explicit in the words κατ' Ὄλυμπον (9.206).

Immediately after all five of these speeches, the narrative proceeds as if nothing has happened. Except for the speech of Aphrodite, who directly addresses Ares, who is sitting with her on Olympus, the speeches cannot be heard by any of the addressees mentioned in the many apostrophes they contain. The sentiments expressed in all five speeches are also similar, the goddesses gloating at the misfortunes of their opponents and triumphing at the successes of their favourites. These five speeches receive ample attention in the third part of this chapter, where they are analysed in further detail.

The speech of Poseidon (no. 25) is the odd one out on this list. He is not watching from above, but bursts out of the water with his trident, accompanied by Nereids (39.267–268). He only appears after Galatea has called upon him in fear that Polyphemus might get hurt in the battle between the Cyclopes and the Indians during the naumachia of book 39. Galatea is part of a group of sea-creatures watching the battle without participating and Poseidon is, therefore, not called in by an actor in the plotline, but by a fellow spectator (similar to 10.126: Zeus showing Semele what is going on below). Upon arrival, however, Poseidon sees (269: ἐδέρκετο, 270: ὀπιπεύων and 271: ὁρόων) that Polyphemus is absent from the battle, flies into a jealous rage and addresses Dionysus, angry because of the missed opportunity for his son to win glory in battle. His speech is directed to Dionysus, but the capping lines do not tell us whether Dionysus can actually hear it. The only (brief) reaction (39.293–294) comes from Thoosa, the mother of Polyphemus, who is probably also watching and covers her face in shame. This speech of Poseidon, with its immediate context, is one of the most bizarre episodes in the *Dionysiaca*. The battle narrative of the decisive battle of the Indian War is interrupted, not to offer a new perspective on the battle but to discuss the safety (Galatea, no direct speech) and prowess (Poseidon) of a mythological character that is not even present.[20]

5.1.4 *The Voice of the Text-Internal Observer*

To a certain extent, all these speeches can be interpreted as examples of ethopoeae. Apart from the distinctions already made between ἠθοποιίαι ἀορίστων προσώπων and ἠθοποιίαι ὡρισμένων προσώπων and between ἠθοποιίαι ἁπλαῖ and διπλαῖ, it is also possible to distinguish between ethical (ἠθικαί: demonstrating the ἦθος or character of the speaker) and pathetical (παθητικαί: focussing on the feelings inflicted upon the speaker by the situation) ethopoeae, and a mixed form, combining both aspects (μικταί) (see Ps.-Hermogenes, *Prog*. 9.6 Patillon). In this respect, Laura Miguélez Cavero (2008, 336) makes note of the similarity of the stock example for an ethical ethopoea (i.e. what a farmer would say upon first seeing a ship, an example mentioned both in Ps.-Hermogenes and Aphthonius) and the very first speech in Nonnus (what a sailor would say seeing a bull "turned into a ship", no. 1 on my list). Most of the speeches mentioned in my overview, however, seem to belong to the category of pathetical ethopoeae, giving an emotional reaction to the events.

A more important question than how these speeches can be categorized is what the narrative function of these "ecphrastic ethopoeae" is. The speeches

20 This speech is analysed in detail in Fincher 2015, 280–297.

discussed or mentioned in this chapter are by no means an exhaustive list of speeches that could be regarded as ethopoeae in Nonnus,[21] but they stand out as the speeches that are most detached from the narrative. When a new character is introduced to speak its mind and disappear again, this can be felt as a break in the narrative sequence, temporarily suspending the main action. But why and to what effect?

The insertion of such speeches, can, in some cases, be seen as a device to create suspense. In the case of the speech by Poseidon, for example, a decisive battle is temporarily put on "pause" for a discussion of the whereabouts of a character which is entirely irrelevant to anyone interested in the results of the battle.[22]

Krafft's observation that they also contribute to the characterization of the situation to which they react, reveals, in my opinion, an important function of these speeches. Spoken by characters who are not participating in the action, they offer an outsider's perspective on the events in the poem. They could be seen as an invitation to the reader to react to and interpret the events in his turn (this point will be elaborated upon below). In most cases, they serve to underline emotions already present in the broader context in which they appear. The speeches of the two Hamadryads (nos. 2 and 3), for example, breathe the ambiance of total chaos and destruction that is evoked by the description of Typhon's actions in book 2.[23] In other cases, however, the emotional reactions of the observing characters provide a contrast to the dominant emotions in the immediate narrative context of the speech. A striking example is the speech of Hera (no. 20). Whereas the Europa episode as a whole breathes a rather dreamy atmosphere of wonder (especially in the speech of the sailor (no. 1)), innocence (in the portrait of Europa) and tenderness (in the behaviour of Zeus towards Europa), Hera's sardonic speech, ridiculing Zeus' actions, abruptly shatters this atmosphere.

21 Cf. the list in Agosti 2005, containing a longer, but also non-exhaustive list of examples.

22 Cf. Fincher (2015, 253): "In a sense, all of these ecphrastic narrators function this way. They all interrupt the poem's flow and momentum, and they all remove the reader to a meditative space which provides a place for meditation on the significance of the action."

23 Fincher (2015, 264), however, also underlines the contrast between the dialogue of the two Hamadryads and the broader narrative of the Typhonomachy: "The dryads' speeches are markedly at odds with what is going on around them; the hamadryads focus on their fear of woodcutters, of losing their virginity, and of being raped by the gods in the chaos of the battle. These speeches move the register of the scene from a cosmic battle, perhaps *the* definition of dramatic, high epic, to an almost Ovidian world of erotic and pastoral poetry, a startling generic shift. Nonnus forces his readers into the odd position of viewing the effects of battle, characteristic of epic in its most extreme sense, from the position of a

When compared to Nonnus' epic predecessors, the multitude of speeches in the *Dionysiaca* uttered by characters that are only observing and not participating in the main action is unprecedented. For the case of the divine observers, there is, of course, the example of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in which the gods are repeatedly mentioned as watching the battle below.[24] As argued by Helen Lovatt in her recent book (2013, 29), their viewing presence even has a structural function in the transition between episodes. "Following the gaze of the gods", the epic narrative "turns away from one object to another". The Homeric gods, however, rarely raise their voices without intervening in some way, which is in contrast to the divine observers in Nonnus.[25] The coexistence of a divine and a human plot, as we know it from the *Iliad*, has no equivalent in Nonnus.

In Apollonius of Rhodes and Quintus of Smyrna, the watching presence of the Olympian gods is much less elaborated upon. Nonetheless, a few examples can be found in their epics of the type of speech that is under discussion here. Apollonius of Rhodes was, in this respect, certainly a source of inspiration for Nonnus. The speech of the crow (*Argon.* 3.932–937) to Jason as he walks towards his rendezvous with Medea is imitated by Nonnus *D.* 3.103–122 (no. 4) in his very similar speech by a crow to Cadmus (when Cadmus is about to meet his future wife Harmonia). The speech of Selene (*Argon.* 4.57–65) to Medea as she leaves Colchis with Jason is imitated in *D.* 4.216–225 (no. 21) in his speech by Selene to Harmonia as she leaves Samothrace with Cadmus. It is less clear whether Nonnus also imitated Quintus, but the speech of the sailor watching the city of Troy burning after the victory of the Greeks (*Posth.* 13.469–477) bears some resemblances to the speech of the sailor in *D.* 1.93–124 (no. 1), who is watching the sea voyage of Europa and Zeus.[26] Hera's comments on the events on earth in *Posth.* 3.98–127 (to Apollo who has just killed Achilles) and 4.59–55

'light' erotic and decidedly un-epic genre, shifting simultaneously the reader's gaze from a masculine epic point of view to a feminine point of view."

24 For a discussion of the "divine gaze" in epic poetry, see Lovatt 2013, 29–77.

25 I have found only one example in the *Iliad* in which the gods observe and discuss the situation below without intervening in one or another way: the conversation between Zeus (18.357–359) and Hera in (18.361–367) in book 18, commenting on Patroclus' death. The best parallel in Homer for an anonymous observer's speech is probably the speech of wonder by the Trojan men upon seeing Helen (*Il.* 3.156–160).

26 Whereas Nonnus in the first two cases is clearly imitating Apollonius, in the example of the sailor, there are no textual parallels, nor are the parallels between the two situations convincing enough to truly establish a relation of direct imitation. The speech of the sailor in Quintus remains, however, an interesting precedent for the anonymous observer's speeches in Nonnus. See also Whitby 1994, 114: "three of the four cases in which he [Quintus] diverges markedly from Homer [i.e. regarding metrical issues] occur in a single

(to Zeus who has allowed Achilles to get killed)[27] could, moreover, be seen as examples of comments of a divine observer. In both cases she stays on Mount Olympus and does not interfere, but holds the god she addresses responsible for what has happened below. The tone of her speeches and the way they are introduced into the narrative are, however, very different from, for example, her speech commenting on the Europa episode in Nonnus. These five cases are the only examples of text-internal observer's comments I have found in the *Argonautica* and the *Posthomerica*. Nonnus' engagement with Apollonius and possibly also with Quintus (the sailor's speech), indicates that Nonnus also in this respect uses the epic tradition, but builds on it by further developing this type of speech, which is a recurring feature in his poetry and as such has become an important structural element in the presentation of his story.[28]

5.2 Looking through the Text-Internal Observer's Eyes

As already noted in the overview, the speeches of the anonymous sailor looking at Europa (no. 1), the passenger looking at Harmonia and Cadmus (no. 5) and the Naiad looking at Semele (no. 6) have several characteristics in common. These three anonymous observers look in amazement and admiration at the beautiful protagonists of the story and try their best to interpret what they see. In the second part of this chapter, I want to connect these three speeches both to the broader issue of how beautiful people are visualized in the *Dionysiaca* and to the hypothesis formulated above that the speeches of the observing characters hold up a mirror to the face of the reader and make him reflect on his own process of interpretation by showing possible reactions to the (events in the) poem in the poem itself.

Because the interpretation strategy that is used by our three anonymous characters to deduce the identity of the beautiful protagonist they are looking at is also used in a second group of three speeches in the *Dionysiaca*, I have decided to incorporate these three cases in my analysis as well, although they differ from the other speeches discussed in this chapter in that they trigger further plot developments (this is the case in nos. 1 and 2, see below under

speech by an anonymous sailor […] which foreshadows the ethopoeic type of speech already observed in Nonnus' treatment of the Europa story."

27 In imitation of the conversation between Hera and Zeus in *Il.* 18 (see n. 25 above)?

28 I have not been able to look for parallels in the Latin epic tradition. Fincher (2015, 243–245) also refers to the way mythological figures are used as "spokepersons" in Statius' *Sylvae* in order to give more authority to the words of praise (cf. Coleman 1999).

5.2.4.1–2) or are spoken by the poem's protagonist rather than by a minor character (this is the case for nos. 2 and 3, see below under 5.2.4.2–3).

5.2.1 *About Europa*

The story of Zeus and Europa (1.46–137 and 321–361), in the opening section of the *Dionysiaca*, immediately reveals a clear emphasis on the perspective of the text-internal observer.[29] After a short description of the abduction (46–57) the focus shifts from Zeus, Europa and Eros to the onlookers of their sea voyage. We are told about the amazed reaction of Poseidon and Nereus (60, 64), the musical reply by Triton to Zeus' bellowing (61–63), the jealousy of Boreas (69–71) and the righteous indignation of Pallas (83–85).[30] This elaboration of the observer's perspective reaches its culmination in the long speech of wonder by the anonymous Achaean sailor (93–124), who is looking in amazement at the strange tableau and trying to guess the identities of both the girl and the bull. In the second part of the story of Europa (1.321–361),[31] the speech by the sailor is, finally, given a counterpart in the sarcastic comments of Hera (326–343, no. 18, analysed under 5.3.1), who sees her unfaithful husband from afar in his bovine disguise and vents her spleen.

Both the subject of Nonnus' opening section and its presentation largely through the eyes of the onlookers bring to mind the opening section of Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, in which an elaborate ekphrasis is given of a painting of the same story. Details of the description in both authors indicate that Nonnus must have used *Leucippe and Cleitophon*,[32] and Robert

29 On the perspective of the spectator in this episode, see also Braden 1974, 857–859, Kuhlmann 2012, 488–489 and Fincher 2015, 253–263. Rocca 2009/2010, 399–400: "il proposito di Nonno del resto non era quello di fare un racconto ma di comporre quadri e di commentarli per mezzo di discorsi retorici. […] Il gruppo centrale della composizione è presentato in quattro tempi: descrizione generale dei due personnagi (vv. 53–59), attitudine e gesti di Europa (vv. 65–68), azione di Eros (vv. 79–83), commento morale (vv. 86–90). Le reazioni degli spettatori si alternano con gli elementi di questo quadro: ammirazione mista a timore nelle divinità marine (vv. 60–65), gelosia di Borea (vv. 69–71), vergogna di Atena (vv. 83–85), commenti di un marinaio anonimo sotto la forma di un lungo monologo in stile diretto (vv. 93–124)."

30 Within the *Dionysiaca*, the closest parallel for such a multitude of onlookers can be found in 39.251–272, preceding the spectator's speech by Poseidon (39.273–291, no. 25 on our list). In both cases, the onlookers are (mainly) marine deities.

31 In lines 1.137–320, the Europa narrative is interrupted to insert the first part of the Typhonomachy.

32 Vian 1976, 16: "Pour orner sa composition, Nonnos a sûrement utilisé Moschos et Achille Tatios, peut-être aussi Lucien." Detailed references are listed in Vian's notes on this passage

Shorrock (2001, 34), referring to both Achilles Tatius 1.1 and Herodotus 1.2, has also advanced the idea that it is no coincidence that Nonnus starts off his narrative with the Europa story because Europa marks an appropriate beginning.[33]

Whereas in Achilles Tatius, the narrator describes a painting of Europa and the bull, the observing characters in Nonnus are part of the seascape and see the real Europa and Zeus.[34] And whereas in Achilles Tatius, the narrator right from the start defines the painting as one of Europa (1.1.2: Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφή) and interprets it accordingly, the Achaean sailor in Nonnus has no idea who he is looking at, but reveals himself as an industrious interpreter of what he sees.[35]

> Ὀφθαλμοί, τί τὸ θαῦμα; πόθεν ποσὶ κύματα τέμνων
> νήχεται ἀτρυγέτοιο δι' ὕδατος ἀγρονόμος βοῦς;

(1976, ad loc.). The comparison of the bull to a boat (*D.* 1.66 ~ Ach. Tat. 1.1.12) is an especially convincing detail. See also the notes ad loc. in Gigli Piccardi 2003 and Rocca 2009/2010, 400. For the role of the Europa ekphrasis in Achilles Tatius, see Reeves 2007.

33 Shorrock 2001, 34: "The story of Europa clearly marks the beginning of the genealogical narrative of Dionysus. At the same time, it is suggestive of a number of different beginnings: literary, mythological and historical. […] It is surely worthy of comment that Nonnus has opened his narrative with allusions which refer specifically to the *opening* lines of both Moschus and Achilles Tatius. Perhaps the most famous of all narrations of the Europa story is the one set out at the beginning of Herodotus' *Histories*. […] Nonnus makes no explicit allusion to Herodotus; but it would be another thing entirely to deny that his narrative opening contains an Herodotean resonance." A similar suggestion, only concerning Achilles Tatius, is found in Giraudet 2010, 350.

34 A second interesting parallel for the Europa narrative, also narrated from an observer's perspective, is Lucian's *Dialogi marini* 15 (already referred to by Vian 1976, 16) in which Zephyrus in dialogue with Notus gives an eye-witness account of the abduction of Europa. Very similar to Nonnus' account is the high number of sea-creatures mentioned in the tableau (15.3). The story in Lucian is, moreover, treated as if the mythological event has only just happened. See also Reeves 2004, 264–276. I return to this parallel in the concluding paragraph below.

35 Compare also with lines 1.57–59 (ἰδὼν δέ μιν ἤ τάχα φαίης | ἢ Θέτιν ἢ Γαλάτειαν ἢ εὐνέτιν Ἐννοσιγαίου | ἢ λοφιῇ Τρίτωνος ἐφεζομένην Ἀφροδίτην "If you saw her you would think it was Thetis perhaps, or Galateia, or Earthshaker's bedfellow, or Aphrodite seated on a Triton's neck"). This shorter series of possible identifications for Europa is put in the mouth of a person addressed in the second person singular, who can thus be identified as the *Dionysiaca*'s narratee. For an interpretation of these lines (and similar examples) as an address to the narratee, see Geisz 2013, 137–167, esp. 150–153. Geisz compares these lines to the speech of the sailor and concludes that he is "the equivalent, on the level of the diegesis, to what the narratee is on the level of the enunciation." (152), He is "a character version of the narratee" (153).

Μὴ πλωτὴν Κρονίδης τελέει χθόνα; Μὴ διὰ πόντου
ὑγρὸς ἁλιβρέκτοιο χαράσσεται ὁλκὸς ἁμάξης;—
Παπταίνω κατὰ κῦμα νόθον πλόον· Ἦ ῥα Σελήνη
ἄζυγα ταῦρον ἔχουσα μετ' αἰθέρα πόντον ὁδεύει;
Ἀλλὰ Θέτις βυθίη διερὸν δρόμον ἡνιοχεύει;
Οὐ βοῒ χερσαίῳ τύπον εἴκελον εἰνάλιος βοῦς
ἔλλαχεν—ἰχθυόεν γὰρ ἔχει δέμας—, ἀντὶ δὲ γυμνῆς
ἀλλοφανὴς ἀχάλινον ἐν ὕδασι πεζὸν ὁδίτην
Νηρεῒς ἑλκεσίπεπλος ἀήθεα ταῦρον ἐλαύνει.
Εἰ πέλε Δημήτηρ σταχυηκόμος, ὑγροπόρῳ δέ
γλαυκὰ διασχίζει βοέῳ ποδὶ νῶτα θαλάσσης,
καὶ σὺ βυθοῦ μετὰ κῦμα, Ποσειδάων, μετανάστης
γαίης δίψια νῶτα μετέρχεο πεζὸς ἀροτρεύς,
νηὶ θαλασσαίῃ Δημήτερος αὔλακα τέμνων,
χερσαίοις ἀνέμοισι βατὸν πλόον ἐν χθονὶ τεύχων.—
Ταῦρε, παρεπλάγχθης μετανάστιος· οὐ πέλε Νηρεύς
βουκόλος, οὐ Πρωτεὺς ἀρότης, οὐ Γλαῦκος ἀλωεύς,
οὐχ ἕλος, οὐ λειμῶνες ἐν οἴδμασιν, ἀλλὰ θαλάσσῃ
ἀτρυγέτῳ πλώοντες ἀνήροτα ναύλοχον ὕδωρ
πηδαλίῳ τέμνουσι καὶ οὐ σχίζουσι σιδήρῳ·
αὔλακας οὐ σπείρουσιν ὀπάονες Ἐννοσιγαίου,
ἀλλὰ φυτὸν πόντοιο πέλει βρύα καὶ σπόρος ὕδωρ,
ναυτίλος ἀγρονόμος, πλόος αὔλακες, ὁλκὰς ἐχέτλη.—
Ἀλλὰ πόθεν μεθέπεις τινὰ παρθένον; Ἦ ῥα καὶ αὐτοί
ταῦροι ἐρωμανέοντες ἀφαρπάζουσι γυναῖκας;
Ἦ ῥα Ποσειδάων ἀπατήλιος ἥρπασε κούρην
ταυρείην κερόεσσαν ἔχων ποταμηίδα μορφήν;
Μὴ δόλον ἄλλον ὕφαινε πάλιν μετὰ δέμνια Τυροῦς,
ὡς καὶ χθιζὰ τέλεσσεν, ὅθ' ὑδατόεις παρακοίτης
χεύμασι μιμηλοῖσι νόθος κελάρυζεν Ἐνιπεύς;

O my eyes, what's this miracle? How comes it that he cuts the waves with his legs, and swims over the barren sea, this land-pasturing bull? Navigable earth—is that the new creation of Cronides? Shall the farmer's wain trace a watery rut through the brine-sprent deep? That's a bastard voyage I descry upon the waves! Surely Selene has gotten an unruly bull, and leaves the sky to traipse over the high seas! Or no—deepwater Thetis drives a coach on a floating racecourse! A sea-bull does, however, not resemble a land-bull, for it has a fishlike shape; This Nereïd with other looks, not naked now, but in long flowing robes, drives this unaccustomed

> bull unbridled to march afoot on the waters! If it is Demeter wheaten-haired, cleaving the gray back of the sea with waterfaring oxhoof, then thou, Poseidon, must have turned landlubber and migrated to the thirsty back of earth, afoot behind the plow, and cut Demeter's furrow with thy sea-vessel, blown by land-winds, tramping a voyage on the soil! Bull, you are astray out of your country; Nereus is no bulldrover, Proteus no plowman, Glaucos no gardener; no marshground, no meadows in the billows; on the barren sea there's no tillage, but sailors cut the ship-harbouring water with a steering-oar, and do not split with iron; Earthshaker's hinds do not sow in the furrows, but the sea's plant is seaweed, sea's sowing is water, the sailor is the farmer, the only furrow is the ship's grain and wake, the hooker is the plow. But how came you to have dealings with a maid? Do bulls also go mad with love, and ravish women? Has Poseidon played a trick, and ravished a girl under the shape of a horned bull like a river-god? Has he woven another plot to follow the bedding of Tyro, just as he did the other day, when the watery paramour came trickling up with counterfeit ripples like a bastard Enipeus?

In his speech, the sailor not only utters his amazement at the sight of a bull crossing the sea but also offers different possible explanations. This "speculative element" (Whitby 1994, 102) may be traced back to Moschus' treatment of the Europa story, in the speeches of Europa herself, but is much more elaborated upon in Nonnus.[36] The sailor's first three hypotheses primarily try to explain the identity of the girl on the bull's back. His first guess, identifying Europa as Selene, is not much elaborated upon. Possible counterarguments, undermining the likelihood of this identification, are already encompassed in the question introducing the hypothesis, for an identification would presume that Selene has exchanged her chariot driven by a team of oxen for a single bull (98: ἄζυγα ταῦρον ἔχουσα) and has left the heavens for the sea (98: μετ' αἰθέρα πόντον ὁδεύει). Following the associative logic of the speech, one can assume that

36 Whitby 1994, 102: "Nonnus develops the speculative element already present in Europa's speeches in Moschus (21–26, 135–152), transferring to the seaman themes from the third, and protracting them by the inclusion of alternative hypotheses and the addition of mythological parallels which make possible a display of wide-ranging erudition." In the first of the speeches of Europa in Moschus, she asks herself who the woman in her dream might have been (24: τίς δ' ἦν ἡ ξείνη), but she does not attempt to answer her own question. In the third, she asks herself who the bull is that is abducting her and confidently claims that it must be a god (140: ἦ ἄρα τις θεὸς ἐσσί;), after which she suggests it to be Poseidon (149–152).

FIGURE 6 *Panel with two Nereids. Tapestry, 6th–7th century AD., No. inv. BZ.1932.1.*
© DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

the idea that Selene does not belong on sea may have led to the second hypothesis, identifying Europa as Thetis, who is properly a sea goddess (99: βυθίη). The second hypothesis, however, brings new problems. Thetis is regularly portrayed to be riding a sea creature,[37] but our bull is a land-bull and has no fishy tail (100–101: οὐ βοῒ χερσαίῳ τύπον εἴκελον εἰνάλιος βοῦς | ἔλλαχεν—ἰχθυόεν γὰρ ἔχει δέμας). Moreover, Europa's long dress (103: ἑλκεσίπεπλος) is considered not to be fitting for a Nereid, who would be expected to be naked (101–102: ἀντὶ δὲ γυμνῆς | ἀλλοφανής).[38]

37 A large number of visual representations (on vases, mosaics and the like) of Nereids riding sea creatures has survived from antiquity, among which also a number riding a fish-tailed bull. See Icard-Gianolio and Szabados 1992. Fine examples are the artefacts cited by Icard-Gianolio and Szabados as numbers 30, 39, 55 and 58.

38 The same argument about the iconography of Nymphs and certain goddesses as nudes is also used in the speech by Dionysus about Ariadne (see below, 5.2.4.3). Vian (1976, 141) judges this argument to be "[une] antithèse purement rhétorique. Europé a été figurée pendant longtemps vêtue d'une longue tunique (cf. encore Ach. Tat. 1.1.10); mais l'art tardif tend à la dénuder plus ou moins complètement. Les Néréides ont subi la même évolution." See also Icard-Gianolio and Szabados 1992 (on the Nereids) and Robertson 1988

FIGURE 7 *Europa and the bull. Mosaic from Arles, late 2nd – early 3rd century* AD. *No. inv. FAN.92.00.563.*
© R. BÉNALI, J.-L. MABY. LE MUSÉE DÉPARTEMENTAL ARLES ANTIQUE

Whereas the first two hypotheses were introduced with a question (is it "X"? Is it "Y"?), the sailor's third hypothesis is introduced by a conditional clause (if it is "Z", then …). If Demeter uses the bull to plough the sea (104–105), then Poseidon must take her place on land with his νηὶ θαλασσαίῃ (108). Again, following the associative logic of the speech, one could conclude that the problem of incongruity between the Nereid and the land-bull is solved in the next hypothesis, figuring Demeter—who is associated with the (land-)bull in its agricultural function. This new interpretation, however, also raises a new problem, because Demeter and her bull—again—belong to the land and not

(on Europa), from which it is clear that even this chronological distinction is difficult to make.

to the sea. Its paradoxical presence at sea is, therefore, the starting point for an elaboration contrasting agriculture and seamanship.

The emphasis on the figure of the bull in 110–117 finally leads to a fourth hypothesis in the final lines of the sailor's speech, now focussing on the identity of the bull, whereas Europa is—correctly—interpreted to be an abducted beauty. The sailor guesses that the bull is a metamorphosed god, but argues that it might be Poseidon because of his tauriform disguise, with a reference to his former disguise as the—equally tauriform—river god Enipeus in order to seduce Tyro.[39]

With this fourth hypothesis, the sailor comes close to the truth. He looks at the event like an interpreter would look at a painting of an unknown scene, taking the identifiable elements as clues for his interpretation: decisive elements are the setting (sea, rather than sky or earth), the mode of transport (not a seabull, not a team of bulls) and the clothing of the characters (Europa's long dress). The impossibility for him to interpret the scene, which for him has not yet become legendary, creates a certain sense of dramatic irony. The tension created because of the difference in knowledge between the sailor and the narratee grows when the sailor comes closer and closer to the truth. For the contemporary reader, especially the reference to Thetis on the seabull will evoke images that are extremely close to the traditional Europa iconography, as can be illustrated by figures 6 and 7. In this case, the Nereids can be distinguished from Europa because of their mermaid-like fishy tails. In other cases the seabull has the tail of a fish.[40]

5.2.2 *About Cadmus and Harmonia*

Our second example (no. 5 on our list) is the speech (4.238–246) by a passenger of Cadmus' ship, as this latter leaves Samothrace with his bride Harmonia. When boarding his ship, Cadmus takes the precautionary action of giving his bride a place close to him on the boat, because he has seen (4.235: ἰδών) his crew taking paying passengers aboard. This then serves as an introduction for the presence of a σύμπλοος ἀνήρ (4.236), who, in his turn, sees the young couple (4.237: ὁρόων) and speaks out:

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39 Note also the use of the adjective ἀπατήλιος for Poseidon in line 120, possibly referring to his disguise. Cf. my discussion about disguise and deceit in chapter 4.

40 This is for example the case in a mosaic from Ostia (III 16, 7), found in the Terme della Trinacria (exedra B) from the 2nd half of the 2nd century AD, cited as nr. 58 in the LIMC-lemma "Nereides" by Icard-Gianolio and Szabados (1992).

Αὐτὸς Ἔρως πέλεν οὗτος ὁ ναυτίλος· οὐ νέμεσις γάρ
υἷα τεκεῖν πλωτῆρα θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην·
ἀλλὰ βέλος καὶ τόξον ἔχει καὶ πυρσὸν ἀείρει
βαιὸς Ἔρως πτερύγεσσι κεκασμένος· εἰσορόω δέ
ὁλκάδα Σιδονίην· δολόεις τάχα φώριος Ἄρης
ἕζεται ἐν πρύμνῃσιν ἔσω Λιβάνοιο κομίζων
Ἀσσυρίην πλώουσαν ἀπὸ Θρῄκης Ἀφροδίτην.
Ἵλαθι, μῆτερ Ἔρωτος, ἀκυμάντῳ δὲ γαλήνῃ
πέμπε μοι ἴκμενον οὖρον ἀχείμονι μητρὶ θαλάσσῃ.

That sailor looks like Love himself! And no wonder that Aphrodite of the sea has a mariner son. But Eros carries bow and arrow and lifts a firebrand, he's a little one with wings on him; and this I see is a Sidonian ketch. Perhaps that is the cunning old thief Ares sitting on the poop, and carrying the Assyrian Aphrodite from Thrace into Libanos. Be gracious, mother of Love! Send me a following wind in a waveless calm over your mother sea stormless!

Just like the speech of the sailor, the speech of the passenger is presented as an expression of wonder (1.93: τί τὸ θαῦμα; cf. introductory line: 4.237 ἐκεράσσατο θαύματι φωνήν). In this case, however, the situation itself—a young couple on a boat—is not miraculous; the wonder only refers to the exceptional beauty of the two protagonists, which leads the passenger to assume that they are divinities. The interpretative logic of the passenger is similar to that of the sailor. His first guess is presented as a spontaneous exclamation: It must be Eros, after which he first argues why this is plausible (238: οὐ νέμεσις):[41] Cadmus (the ship's captain) could be identified as Eros, because Eros is linked to the sea through his sea-born mother Aphrodite. However—as the passenger realizes immediately afterwards, the absence of Eros' attributes (240: bow and arrows) and physical characteristics (241: small (βαιός) and winged) plead against this identification.

41 The phrase οὐ νέμεσις or τίς νέμεσίς is frequently used in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (by characters and narrator alike) to argue that something is plausible, mostly with reference to a far-fetched mythological or etymological argument (for example in 5.290, 19.343, 34.324, 35.141, 40.420, 43.104, 44.315, 46.75, 48.291 and 48.846). An alternative phrase, used in the same context is τίς φθόνος; or οὐ φθόνος (for example in 16.87, 16.136, 16.204, 27.99 and 48.408). Interestingly, the phrase οὐ νέμεσις occurs only twice in Homer. One of these two occurrences is in the speech of wonder by the Trojan men upon seeing Helen (*Il.* 3.156–

Interestingly, the passenger then looks for a new visual clue (241: εἰσορόω δέ). The origin of the boat on which they are sailing is Sidon (242: ὁλκάδα Σιδονίην). As is observed by Pierre Chuvin (1976, 159), this can be an argument for the identification of the couple as Ares and Aphrodite, in which case the gods must have travelled from the Assyrian port of Sidon—Aphrodite's territory[42]—to Ares' territory of Samothrace[43] and are now heading back. This second hypothesis seems conclusive to the passenger, for he ends his speech with a short prayer to Aphrodite.

Although this is a much less elaborate example than the speech of the sailor in book 1, the same interpretative techniques are used by the speaker to identify the visual object. The passenger mentions elements of the setting (sea, Samothrace and a boat from Sidon), attributes (absence of bow and arrow) and now also physical characteristics—for Cadmus is also not young enough to be Eros. His arguments are learned, but far-fetched—which leads Chuvin (1976, 159) to describe the argumentation as "gratuit et compliqué".

5.2.3 *About Semele*

The third example is again embedded in a context in which the spectator's gaze has a central position, for Zeus' love for Semele in book 7 is first triggered by sight as he voyeuristically observes a bathing scene. The references to sight and the insatiable pleasure of watching Semele in 7.190–221 are manifold: 190: ὄμμα πανόψιον, 191: κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, 193: πατρὸς ὀπιπευτῆρος Ἔρως ἀντώπιος ἔστη,[44] 203: ἄστατον ὄμμα, 205: ὁρόων, 214: ὀπωπῆς, 217: οὐ γὰρ ἰδεῖν μενέαινεν ἀπόπροθεν and 220: ὀφθαλμὸν περίμετρον 220–221: ὅλου θηήτορα κόσμου | ἄρκιον οὐ δοκέεσκεν ἰδεῖν μίαν ἄζυγα κούρην.[45]

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160), which, as mentioned in no. 25 above, provides a good parallel in Homer for Nonnus' speeches by anonymous observing characters.

42 See also *D.* 41.97–128, in which the story of Aphrodite's birth is told with the Assyrian city of Beiruth as the location of her arrival on land, explicitly taking opposition against the tradition in which this honour is preserved for Cyprus or Byblos. The "true" explanation, however, for the presence of a Sidonian boat, is, of course, that Assyria is also Cadmus' fatherland and Sidon the place where his sister Europa has been abducted and thus the starting point of his quest (cf. *D.* 40.298–580: Tyre as Dionysus' ancestral city).

43 See also 3.186: Θρῄισσαν [...] Σάμον, Ἄρεος ἕδρην "Samothrace, the seat of Ares".

44 Lowatt (2013, 29 and 37) quotes this line as emblematic for the poetry of Nonnus, characterizing his presentation of the "divine gaze". 2013, 37: "And Nonnus presents a Zeus as much gazed at as gazing."

45 On the voyeuristic gaze in Nonnus' bathing scenes, see also Winkler 1974, 1–70 and Miguélez Cavero 2011.

Semele in this passage is not physically described in any way. Her astonishing beauty can only be deduced from the obvious admiration of the watching Zeus. The only clue about the girl's looks is Zeus' implicit comparison to Europa (205–206: μὴ σχεδὸν ὄχθης | Εὐρώπην ἐνόησε τὸ δεύτερον), with whom Semele shares the same radiance (209: αἴγλη) as a family likeness (Europa is Semele's aunt, cf. 209: πατροκασιγνήτης).[46]

At 224 (ὀπιπεύουσα δὲ νύμφην), however, a second observer is announced who is briefly identified as a Naiad and immediately starts to speak (7.226–254). The introduction to her speech of wonder clearly recalls that of the passenger of Cadmus' ship (cf. 7.225: ἀνήρυγε θαύματι φωνήν and 4.237: ἐκεράσσατο θαύματι φωνήν). Again, the wonder in the speaker's voice concerns the beauty of the person seen rather than the miraculous nature of the situation.

Τίς προτέρην μετὰ Κύπριν ἀμερσιγάμῳ Κρόνος ἅρπῃ
μήδεα πατρὸς ἔτεμνεν, ἕως πάλιν ἀφρὸς ἐχέφρων
εἰς τόκον αὐτοτέλεστον ἄγων μορφούμενον ὕδωρ
ὁπλοτέρην ὤδινε θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην;
Μὴ ποταμὸς μετὰ πόντον ὁμοζήλοισι λοχείαις
κύματος αὐτογόνοιο λεχώιον ὁλκὸν ἑλίσσων
ἄλλην Κύπριν ἔτικτε, καὶ οὐχ ὑπόειξε θαλάσσῃ;
Μὴ μία Μουσάων τις ἐμὸν πατρώιον ὕδωρ
γείτονος ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος ἐδύσατο; Καὶ τίνι πηγῆς
Πηγασίδος προλέλοιπε μελισταγὲς ἵππιον ὕδωρ
ἢ ῥόον Ὀλμειοῖο; Τιταινομένην δὲ ῥεέθροις
παρθένον ἀργυρόπεζαν ἔσω ποταμοῖο δοκεύω·
πείθομαι, ὡς ἐθέλουσα μολεῖν ἐπὶ Λάτμιον εὐνὴν
εἰς λέχος Ἐνδυμίωνος, ἀκοιμήτοιο νομῆος,
λούεται Ἀονίῃσιν ἐνὶ προχοῇσι Σελήνη·
Εἰ δὲ δέμας φαίδρυνε χάριν γλυκεροῖο νομῆος,
τί χρέος Ἀσωποῖο μετὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο;

46 By the structure in which the story of Semele is introduced in the narration, Semele is also implicitly compared to Persephone, the mother of the first Dionysus. In book 5, the story of Semele is introduced very briefly (5.562), only to be put on hold for a long analepsis (5.563–567.135) recounting the love of Zeus for Persephone, the birth of Zagreus and the flood after his death. The passage in which Zeus falls in love with Persephone "on sight" (5.585–615) is in many ways similar to the scene described here. There is a similar focus on viewing (Zeus insatiably looking at Persephone (5.585–593 and 601–610) and Persephone looking at herself in the mirror (5.594–600)), including a voyeuristic bathing scene (5.601–610).

Εἰ δὲ καὶ αἰθερίην μεθέπει χιονώδεα μορφήν,
Μήνης ποῖον ἔχει σημήιον; Ἀστομίων γάρ
οὐρήων ζυγόδεσμα καὶ ἀργυρόκυκλος ἀπήνη
αἰγιαλῷ παρέασιν, ὑποζεῦξαι δὲ λεπάδνῳ
ἡμιόνους οὐκ οἶδε βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη.
Εἰ δέ τις οὐρανίη θεὸς ἤλυθε—παρθενικῆς γάρ
γλαυκὰ γαληναίων βλεφάρων ἀμαρύγματα λεύσσω—,
καὶ τάχα Τειρεσίαο παλαιοτέρην μετὰ νείκην
λούσατο δέρμα βαλοῦσα πάλιν γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.
Κούρη μὲν ῥοδόπηχυς ἔχει θεοειδέα μορφήν·
εἰ δέ μιν ἀγλαόφορτος ἐπιχθονίη τέκε γαστήρ,
αἰθερίων Κρονίωνος ἐπάξιος ἔπλετο λέκτρων.

Which Cronos, after the first Cypris, has now again cut his father's loins with unmanning sickle, until the foam got a mind and made the water shape itself into a selfperfected birth, delivered a younger Aphrodite from the sea? Can it be that the river has rivalled the deep with a childbirth, and rolled a torrent of self-pregnant waves to bring forth another Cypris, not to be outdone by the sea? Can it be that one of the Muses has dived from neighbouring Helicon into my native water, and left another to take the honeydripping water of Pegasos the horse, or the stream of Olmeios! I spy a silverfooted maiden stretched under the streams of my river! Can I believe Selene bathes in the Aonian waves on her way to Endymion's bed on Latmos, the bed of a sleepless shepherd? But if she has prinked herself out for her sweet shepherd, what's the use of Asopos after the Ocean stream? And if she has a body white as the snows of heaven, what mark of the Moon has she? A team of mules unbridled and a mule-cart with silver wheels are there on the beach, but Selene knows not how to put mules to her yokestrap—she drives a team of bulls! Or if it is a goddess come down from heaven—I see a maiden's bright eyes sparkling under the quiet eyelids, and it must be Athena Brighteyes, who throws off her cloak again to go bathing, even after her old quarrel with Teiresias. This girl looks like a divine being with her rosy arms; but if she was the glorious burden of a mortal womb, she is worthy of the heavenly bed of Cronion.

The Nymph's first hypothesis is that Semele is a second Aphrodite, which would then require a new Cronus to cut off his father's loins to provoke a new birth (226–229). Within the speech of the Nymph, however, not the highly unlikely conditions for her birth but the setting of the scene—in a river rather than at sea—is considered an obstacle to this interpretation (230–232). The vicinity of

mount Helicon (situated in Boeotia, not too far from Thebes) then leads her to the second hypothesis, identifying Semele as one the Muses (233–234). The question here, however, is why (or to whom) she has left the springs available on the Helicon itself (234–236).

Interestingly, at 236–237, the Naiad spots a new visual clue, as she suddenly sees (237: δοκεύω) the silver feet of Semele under the water. The epithet ἀργυρόπεζα is usually associated with Thetis, but here it is interpreted as a clue leading to the identification of Selene.[47] However, the identification as Selene also raises several objections. The first is, again, related to the setting. Just like Aphrodite, Selene would be expected to do her bathing in the sea (241–242). In 243–247, an argument for and an argument against identification as Selene are contrasted. On the one hand, the girl has the pale beauty of the moon goddess (243: αἰθερίην […] χιονώδεα μορφήν); on the other hand, the girl's mode of transport—a team of mules—contradicts her identification as Selene, who would have arrived with a bovine team. Finally, Semele's grey eyes (249: γλαυκὰ γαληναίων βλεφάρων ἀμαρύγματα) lead to a hypothetical identification with Athena (251: γλαυκῶπις), supposing, that is, she would risk again going bathing naked after her encounter with Tiresias.

The speech ends with the consideration that Semele might just as well be a mortal girl and, because of her exceptional beauty, a potential beloved of Zeus (253–254). Without knowing it, the Naiad judges the situation remarkably well.[48] Her lucky guess could be seen as a wink to the reader, who, of course, knows what is going to happen, both from the preceding narrative, identifying the girl as Semele and describing Zeus' longing for her, and also from his prior knowledge of mythology.

After this speech, the voyeuristic bathing scene concludes with an erotic climax (256–265), as Zeus watches Semele's naked body and lets his eyes roam from one body part to another (256: πάπταινε, 258: κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, 259: ὀπιπεύων, 262: σκοπίαζεν, 263: ὄπωπε, 265: πάντα δόκευεν), only to discretely avert his gaze (265: ἀθηήτοιο δὲ μούνου) at the point when he is about to see the "secrets of her lap" (266: ὄργια κόλπου). Pierre Chuvin (1992, 80) describes the function of the Naiad's speech as an artifice to postpone this scene: "Mais

47 The epithet appears 13 times in Homer for Thetis. The Nymph's "failure" to read the obvious clue pointing at Thetis could in fact be part of a narrative strategy of Nonnus to play with the expectations of the learned reader, who is challenged to correct the Nymph's interpretation. Nonnus also elsewhere (for example in 1.385–387 and 23.231–233) appeals to the reader's knowledge of epithets specifically connected to certain characters in literature, see 3.1.2.3.

48 Cf. Chuvin 1992, 81: "La conclusion est prophétique".

l'évocation physique de Sémélé, qui forme le thème principal du passage, est retardée par l'intervention d'une Naïade anonyme". By postponing the voyeuristic climax, the speech of the Naiad indeed creates a certain tension in the narrative, although the constituents of the story are, of course, well known to the reader.

5.2.4 *Other Examples of the Same Interpretative Technique*

As mentioned above, the interpretative technique found in the three speeches that have been analysed here is also used by other types of character (characters with an active role in the story) and in different situations (in speeches heard and reacted to by the poem's protagonists) in order to describe the divine beauty of Cadmus, Ampelus and Ariadne. I will, therefore, also discuss the following three examples, although they do not belong to the speech type of the "ecphrastic ethopoea" as I have defined it in this chapter.

5.2.4.1 As a Persuasive Strategy: Aphrodite/Peisinoe about Cadmus

My first example is part of the persuasive and deceptive speech of Aphrodite in book 4 (77–176), who takes the guise of Peisinoe (a young friend of Harmonia) in order to make Harmonia fall in love with Cadmus, to whom she is betrothed.[49] Peisinoe's own fascination and love for the handsome and mysterious stranger is intended to kindle Harmonia's interest in Cadmus.[50] Nonnus here makes an interesting and original choice of rhetorical persuasion over the "easier" option available to Aphrodite to make people fall in love, namely by piercing them with the arrows of Eros, a strategy which is used elsewhere in the *Dionysiaca*.[51]

Important for a correct understanding of this speech is also the double identity of the speaker. On the one hand, it is a speech by Aphrodite, who of course

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49 This speech is also briefly discussed for its deceptive nature in chapter 4 (third speech on the list on page 168–169). On the telling name of Peisinoe, see also under 4.3.3, n. 60.

50 See also the articles by K. Carvounis (2014, 30–33) and H. Frangoulis (2006a, 42–46) for an analysis of this persuasive speech in encomiastic terms. I agree with Carvounis that the speculation about Cadmus' identity is used a persuasive strategy that can be connected with the encomiastic topos of the place of origin and noble birth of the person that is praised. Carvounis 2014, 30: "In wondering about his real identity, Aphrodite-Peisonoe introduces comparisons that aptly elevate Cadmus: she compares him first with the mortal Adonis and then with Zeus' Olympian sons […] Hermes and Apollo."

51 Deities in the *Dionysiaca* tend to resort to rhetorical persuasion instead of using their divine powers. Compare, for example, with Ate's and Phthonus' persuasive strategies (see chapter 4), whereas in the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode Morrheus is struck by Eros' arrows.

knows very well who Cadmus is, but wants to make him more mysterious and possibly divine to render him more attractive for Harmonia. On the other hand, she convincingly speaks in the character of a young girl, whose naivety and ignorance is apparent in her argumentation. As is the case for many speeches by a disguised character (cf. chapter 4.2), the speech reads differently from the two perspectives.

It is interesting to see how the same kind of argument as found in the soliloquies of the text-internal observers can also be found in this speech, but in a different context. Aphrodite adopts the role of the naïve girl and shares her observations with Semele with the goal of persuasion. I only quote the relevant parts of this long speech (100 lines in total: 4.77–176).

ἀτρεκὲς Ἀσσυρίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἷμα κομίζει,
ἧχι ῥόος χαρίεντος Ἀδώνιδος· ἱμερόεις γάρ
ἐκ Λιβάνου νέος οὗτος, ὅπῃ Κυθέρεια χορεύει.—
Ἤλιτον· οὐ τάχα Κάδμον ἐπιχθονίη τέκε γαστήρ,
ἀλλὰ Διὸς γένος ἔσχεν, ἑὴν δ᾽ ἐψεύσατο φύτλην.
Οἶδα, πόθεν νέος οὗτος Ὀλύμπιος· εἴ ποτε Μαίῃ
σύγγονον Ἠλέκτρην Τιτήνιος ἤροσεν Ἄτλας,
Ἁρμονίῃ πόσις ἦλθεν ἀνεψιὸς ἄπτερος Ἑρμῆς,
Οὐδὲ μάτην Καδμῖλος ἀείδεται· οὐρανίην γάρ
μορφὴν μοῦνον ἄμειψε καὶ εἰσέτι Κάδμος ἀκούει.
Εἰ δὲ πέλει θεὸς ἄλλος ἔχων βροτοειδέα μορφήν,
Ἠμαθίων τάχα Φοῖβον ἑῷ ξείνισσε μελάθρῳ.
[…]
Μέμνημαί ποτε τοῖον ἐγὼ τύπον· ἡμετέρῳ γάρ
εἰς δόμον ὀμφήεντα συνεσπομένη γενετῆρι
Πύθιον εἶδον ἄγαλμα, καὶ ὡς τέον εἶδον ἀλήτην,
ὠισάμην Φοίβοιο πάλιν βρέτας ἐνθάδε λεύσσειν.
Ἀλλ᾽ ἐρέεις, ὅτι Φοῖβος ἔχει χρυσαυγέα μίτρην·
χρύσεος ἔπλετο Κάδμος ὅλον δέμας.

Surely his blood comes from Assyria! That must be his home, beside the river of that enchanting Adonis, for that lovely young man came from Libanos where Cythereia dances. No, I was wrong! I don't suppose any mortal womb bred Cadmos; no, he is sprung from Zeus and he has concealed his stock! I know where this young Olympian comes from. If Titan Atlas ever begat Electra as Maia's sister, here's cousin Hermes without wings come as husband for Harmonia. Then that's why we sing hymns to Cadmilos! He has only changed his heavenly shape and still he

> is called Cadmos. Or if he is some other god in human shape, perhaps Apollo is Emathion's guest in this house. […] I remember once a carving like him. For I once went with our father into the house of oracle, and there I saw the Pythian image; and when I saw your vagrant, I thought I saw the statue of Phoibos again in this place. But you will say, Phoibos has a goldgleaming diadem. Cadmos is gold in all his body!

The first statement made about Cadmus' identity in this speech is entirely correct. Cadmus is indeed an Assyrian (from Tyre), but does he also resemble the Assyrian Adonis, as is argued by Peisinoe to substantiate her hypothesis? Aphrodite herself would be able to judge best, but cannot be trusted here. In line 83 (ἤλιτον), moreover, she pathetically changes opinion and declares that Cadmus cannot be mortal. This is clearly a stratagem to make him more mysterious and attractive in Harmonia's eyes. Her change of mind results in the strong claim in line 85 (οἶδα) that she positively knows who he is. This first alternative identification of Cadmus is Hermes, whose family ties with Harmonia's adoptive mother Electra, she argues, would make the wedding between him and Harmonia a logical arrangement. Peisinoe's second argument is etymological, linking the name of Cadmus to Hermes Cadmilus.[52]

Notwithstanding Peisinoe's initial certainty about the identification as Hermes and the absence of any counterarguments or second thoughts, a new hypothesis follows (90: εἰ δὲ πέλει θεὸς ἄλλος). Here again, the arguments for the identification are clearly visual. Peisinoe's recognition of Apollo based on a Delphic statue she has once seen is a direct reference to the importance of (the knowledge of) iconography for the interpretation of a scene. With regard to the character of Aphrodite, who is the actual speaker, the reference to a Delphic statue also reveals the irony of the situation, in which one Olympic god pretends to have to compare with a statue in order to recognize another Olympian.[53]

5.2.4.2 Approaching One's Beloved: Dionysus on/to Ampelus

Just like Peisinoe/Aphrodite in book 4, Dionysus in book 10 expresses his admiration for the object of his love in terms of disbelief in his mortality. Dionysus'

52 For the association of Hermes with the name Cadmilus, see Chuvin 1976, 154.

53 Frangoulis (2006a, 46 and 2014, 33–34) interprets this comparison as a sign of the general "féminisation" of Cadmus in his characterization by Aphrodite, for comparisons with statues of deities, a frequently occurring topos in the novelistic tradition, are usually reserved for female heroines. Acosta-Hughes (2016, 520) also briefly points out the humour in Aphrodites reliance on a statue to compare Cadmus with her own brother Apollo.

speech to Ampelus (10.196–216) is preceded by a remarkably detailed description of the boy through the eyes of the enamoured god (10.175–192).[54] The fact that the god in the introduction to this speech is said to speak "as a mortal", craftily hiding his divinity (10.195: ὡς βροτός, ἀθανάτην δὲ δολοπλόκος ἔκρυφε μορφήν), indicates to the reader that his speech is not to be taken entirely at face value.[55] Dionysus is not really trying to guess Ampelus' identity, but rather to flatter the boy by complimenting him on his beauty. In line 208, however, Dionysus drops his disguise and calls himself the son of Zeus (εἰ Κρονίδης με φύτευσε), after which only one (more sincere?) hypothesis follows. Again, the context is very different from that of the three anonymous observers' speeches. Especially in the first part of the speech, Dionysus, hiding his true identity, only *pretends* to be ignorant of Ampelus' parentage.

Τίς σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε; Τίς οὐρανίη τέκε γαστήρ;
Τίς Χαρίτων σε λόχευσε; Τίς ἤροσε καλὸς Ἀπόλλων;
Εἰπέ, φίλος, μὴ κρύπτε τεὸν γένος·—Εἰ μὲν ἱκάνεις
ἄπτερος ἄλλος Ἔρως βελέων δίχα, νόσφι φαρέτρης,
τίς μακάρων σε φύτευσε παρευνάζων Ἀφροδίτῃ;
Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τρομέω σέο μητέρα Κύπριν ἐνίψαι,
μὴ γενέτην Ἥφαιστον ἢ Ἄρεα σεῖο καλέσσω
Εἰ δὲ σύ, τὸν καλέουσιν, ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἤλυθες Ἑρμῆς,
δεῖξον ἐμοὶ πτερὰ κοῦφα καὶ ἔμπνοα ταρσὰ πεδίλων.
Πῶς μεθέπεις ἄτμητον ἐπήορον αὐχένι χαίτην;
Μὴ σύ μοι αὐτὸς ἵκανες ἄτερ κιθάρης, δίχα τόξου,
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης κεχαλασμένα βόστρυχα σείων;
Εἰ Κρονίδης με φύτευσε, σὺ δὲ χθονίης ἀπὸ φύτλης
βουκεράων Σατύρων μινυώριον αἷμα κομίζεις,
ἶσον ἐμοὶ βασίλευε, θεῷ βροτός· οὐ γὰρ ἐλέγξει
οὐράνιον τεὸν εἶδος Ὀλύμπιον αἷμα Λυαίου.—
Ἀλλὰ τί κικλήσκω σε μινυνθαδίης ἀπὸ φύτλης;
Γινώσκω τεὸν αἷμα, καὶ εἰ κρύπτειν μενεαίνεις.
Ἠελίῳ σε λόχευσε παρευνηθεῖσα Σελήνη
Ναρκίσσῳ χαρίεντι πανείκελον· αἰθέριον γάρ
θέσκελον εἶδος ἔχεις, κεραῆς ἴνδαλμα Σελήνης.

54 There are no explicit references to viewing in this passage. Dionysus is said to be charmed by Ampelus' beauty (176: θέλγετο μορφῇ), which is then further elaborated upon.

55 See also chapter 4, where this speech is mentioned as an example of manipulative rhetoric in an amatory context (no. 7 on the list of all "deceptive" speeches under 4.1.1).

> What father begat you? What immortal womb brought you forth? Which of the Graces gave you birth? What handsome Apollo made you? Tell me, my friend, do not hide your kin. If you come another Eros, unwinged, without arrows, without quiver, which of the Blessed slept with Aphrodite and bred you? But indeed I tremble to name Cypris as your mother, for I would not call Hephaistos or Ares your father. Of if you are the one they call Hermes come from the sky, show me your light wings, and the lively soles of your shoes. How is it you wear the hair uncut falling along your neck? Can you be Phoibos himself come to me without harp, without bow, Phoibos shaking the locks of his unshorn hair unbound! If Cronides begat me, and you are from a mortal stock, if you have the shortliving blood of the horned Satyrs, be king at my side, a mortal with a god; for your looks will not disgrace the heavenly blood of Lyaios. But why do I call you one of the creatures of a day? I recognize your blood even if you wish to hide it; Selene slept with Helios and brought you to birth wholly like the gracious Narcissos; for you have heavenly and wondrous beauty, the image of horned Selene.

The speech starts with a series of questions regarding Ampelus' parents.[56] Just as in the speech of the Naiad describing Semele, Dionysus' first hypothesis (199–202) does not identify Ampelus with an existing mythological figure, but claims him to be a "new" Eros, which raises questions of parentage. In the case of Semele, the identification as a "new" Aphrodite would be problematic because Uranus' loins can only be cut off once (see above under 5.2.3), whereas in the case of Ampelus, his identification with a "new" Eros is problematized because either the belligerent Ares or the ugly Hephaestus must in that case be considered the father of the beautiful and peace-loving child. Dionysus' second and third hypotheses (203–207: Ampelus as Hermes or as Apollo) are refuted immediately after they are proposed because of Ampelus' lack of appropriate attributes (winged sandals, harp and bow). The reference to the uncut hair of Apollo (207: Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης) cannot only be regarded as a literary reference (cf. *Il.* 20.38 Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης),[57] but also as a reference to the iconography of Apollo in the visual arts.[58]

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56 Nicole Kröll (2014, 254 and 2016, 163), who interprets this speech as an encomium explains the series of questions as a special emphasis on the genealogic theme.

57 See also Chétien 1985, 145.

58 See Lambrinudakis 1984, 185–251. See also the description of a statue of Apollo in Christodorus of Coptus, *Statues of Zeuxippus* 266–269 (later than Nonnus): Εἶδον ἀκερσεκόμην ἕκατον θεόν, εἶδον ἀοιδῆς | κοίρανον, ἀδμήτοισι κεκασμένον ἄνθεσι χαίτην· | εἶχε γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι

In the lines which follow (208–211), Dionysus does not offer a new hypothesis but confirms Ampelus' actual identity as a Satyr, as well as his own status as a god and a future Olympian, claiming that even as a Satyr, Ampelus can be his equal. This passage seems to confirm that the previous hypotheses were complimentary rather than sincere. Nevertheless, in lines 212–216, as a final and presumably more sincere hypothesis, Dionysus also refutes Ampelus' mortal nature and claims to recognize (213: γινώσκω, cf. 4.85: οἶδα) in Ampelus the descendant of two other deities (Helius and Selene). The arguments for this parentage are a twofold physical resemblance: Ampelus (as a Satyr) has the horns of Selene and resembles her other son Narcissus.[59]

5.2.4.3 Dionysus Adopting the Outsider's Perspective: Observing Ariadne

My final example is also a speech by Dionysus himself (47.275–294), this one upon his arrival on Naxos, where he finds Ariadne sleeping. The moment he sees the sleeping beauty (272: ἀθρήσας), he feels both wonder and love (273: θαύματι μῖξεν ἔρωτα) and immediately utters this wonder (274: γλώσσῃ θαμβαλέῃ) in a speech to his entourage of Bacchants, careful not to wake her up. In contrast to his speech to Ampelus, Dionysus now seems genuinely ignorant of the identity of the beautiful woman he sees.

In her analysis of this passage, Marie-Christine Fayant (2000, 44 and 53) refers to the iconography of the arrival of Dionysus on Naxos as a possible source of inspiration for Nonnus.[60] On paintings and mosaics Ariadne is often portrayed asleep when Dionysus and his entourage come across her.[61] The closest literary parallel for this passage in Nonnus is, moreover, closely related to the iconography of the visual arts. Philostratus' *Imagines* 1.15 describes a

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κόμης μεμερισμένον ὤμοις | βόστρυχον αὐτοέλικτον. "I saw the far-shooter with unshorn hair; I saw the lord of song, adorned with hair that bloomed unrestrained, for a naturally curly tress hung on each shoulder" (transl. Paton 2014).

59 Another obscure mythological reference: Narcissus is usually referred to as the son of Cephisus (and Leiriope or Leirioessa) and not of Selene, as is the case in the *Dionysiaca*. See also Enßlin 1933, 1721–1723. This passage, moreover, seems to suggest Helius as the father of both Narcissus and (hypothetically) Ampelus, although in 48.583 Narcissus is described as the son of Selene and Endymion.

60 In 2000, 53 she gives the example of a painting in Athens, described by Pausanias (1.20.3), but concludes that the similarities with the iconography of the story cannot prove that Nonnus used a visual representation as a model.

61 See Daszewski and Bernhard 1986, 1060–1064 for a general overview of the iconography of this famous scene. See also Elsner 2007 for the Ariadne iconography in Roman wall paintings (compared to Catullus' *Poem 64*). Interestingly, Elsner also makes note of the many onlooking figures in depictions of Ariadne (2007, 29–30).

painting of Ariadne sleeping on the island with the arrival of Dionysus and his entourage of Bacchants and Satyrs, who are not playing their usual musical instruments in order not to wake up the sleeping girl.[62] This last detail of the silence of the instruments offers a particularly striking parallel with the Ariadne passage in Nonnus, as in his speech Dionysus repeatedly urges his entourage to keep quiet.[63]

Unlike in the Ampelus case, Dionysus is not flattering his beloved in this speech, as Ariadne cannot hear it. He also maintains his role as an observing character, observing the sleeping girl without interfering until after Ariadne's own lamenting soliloquy (47.320–418), when he finally chooses to introduce himself to her in his divine form (47.422). Dionysus, the poem's protagonist, from 47.265 until 47.422 thus adopts the role of a mere observer; "un peu comme si, momentanément, Dionysos renonçait à être propagateur de culte pour être simplement homme" (Fayant 2004, 44).

Βασσαρίδες, μὴ ῥόπτρα τινάξατε, μὴ κτύπος ἔστω
ἢ ποδὸς ἢ σύριγγος· ἐάσσατε Κύπριν ἰαύειν·—
Ἀλλ' οὐ κεστὸν ἔχει σημάντορα Κυπρογενείης.
Πείθομαι, ὡς δολόεντι Χάρις νυμφεύεται Ὕπνῳ·
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἔλαμψε καὶ ἐγγύθι φαίνεται Ἠώς,
Πασιθέην εὕδουσαν ἐγείρατε. Τίς παρὰ Νάξῳ,
τίς Χάριν ἐχλαίνωσεν ἀνείμονα;—Μὴ πέλεν Ἥβη;
Ἀλλὰ δέπας μακάρων τίνι κάλλιπε;—Μὴ παρὰ πόντῳ
κέκλιται αἰγλήεσσα βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη;
καὶ πόθεν Ἐνδυμίωνος ἐθήμονος ἐκτὸς ἰαύει;—
Μὴ Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖσι δοκεύω;
Ἀλλ' οὐ γυμνὸν ἔχει ῥοδόεν δέμας.—Εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν,
Ναξιὰς Ἰοχέαιρα πόνων ἀμπαύεται ἄγρης,
θηροφόνους ἱδρῶτας ἀποσμήξασα θαλάσσῃ·
τίκτει γὰρ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀεὶ πόνος. Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ λόχμῃ
Ἄρτεμιν ἑλκεχίτωνα τίς ἔδρακε;—Μίμνετε, Βάκχαι·

62 The similarity was already noticed by Keydell (1932, 196–197), who raised the hypothesis that Nonnus in this passage is influenced by the genre of ekphrasis. See also Fayant (2000, 53), who does not agree with Keydell because of the scarcity of descriptive details in Nonnus' version of the story ("on ne peut guère parler de description").

63 Compare 47.275–276 and 291–292 to Philostr. *Imag.* 1.15.2: καὶ οὐδὲ κυμβάλοις αἱ Βάκχαι χρῶνται νῦν οὐδὲ οἱ Σάτυροι αὐλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Πὰν κατέχει τὸ σκίρτημα, ὡς μὴ διαλύσειε τὸν ὕπνον τῆς κόρης. "And the Bacchants are not clashing their cymbals now, nor are the Satyrs playing the flute, nay, even Pan checks his wild dance that he may not disturb the

στῆθι, Μάρων· μὴ δεῦρο χορεύσατε· λῆγε λιγαίνων,
Πὰν φίλε, μὴ σκεδάσειας ἑώιον ὕπνον Ἀθήνης.
Καὶ τίνι Παλλὰς ἔλειπεν ἑὸν δόρυ; καὶ τίς ἀείρει
χαλκείην τρυφάλειαν ἢ αἰγίδα Τριτογενείης;

Bassarids, shake not your tambours, let there be no sound of pipes or feet. Let Cypris rest!—But she has not the cestus which marks the Cyprian. I believe it is the Grace that wedded Hypnos, cunning creature! But since dawn is bright and morning seems near, awaken sleeping Pasithea. But who has given a dress to the naked Grace in Naxos, who? Is it Hebe? But to whom has she left the goblet of the Blessed? Can this be Selene, that bright driver of cattle, lying on the seashore? Then how can she be sleeping apart from her inseparable Endymion? Is it silverfoot Thetis I see on the strand? No it is not naked, that rosy form. If I may dare to say so, it is the Archeress resting here in Naxos from her labours of the hunt, now she has wiped off in the sea the sweat of hunting and slaying. For hard work always brings sweet sleep. But who has seen Artemis in the woods in long robes? Stay, Bacchants—stand still, Maron, dance not this way, stop singing, dear Pan, that you may not disturb the morning sleep of Athena. No—with whom did Pallas leave her spear? And who bears the bronze helmet or aegis of Tritogeneia?

Dionysus' speech describing Ariadne is the example with the longest catalogue of different hypotheses. She is identified with no less than seven beautiful deities and each time the identification is refuted, either because of the absence of attributes (the cases of Aphrodite (no cestus), Hebe (no goblet) and Athena (no spear, helmet or aegis); in the case of Semele the absence of her lover Endymion is decisive) or because of her clothing (in the cases of Pasithea (not naked),[64] Thetis (not naked) and Artemis (robe is too long)).[65] Dionysus seems not to reach a conclusion, as also the last hypothesis is refuted.

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maiden's sleep" (transl. Fairbanks 1931). Shorrock (2014, 319) points out the contrast with the version in Catullus 64 where the arrival of Dionysus is accompanied by the sound of drums, horns and pipes.

64 Note that Pasithea is mentioned here as the wife of Hypnus, who is described as δολόεις (a possible reference to his role in the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode, see also under 1.1.2). Note also the playful reference to the fact that Pasithea, as the wife of "Sleep", is sleeping and has to be awakened.

65 Fayant (2000, 44) notes that the divinities seem to be chosen because they are appropriate to the situation: Aphrodite, Pasithea and Hebe because they are known for their excep-

Immediately after the speech, Ariadne wakes up and realizes that she has been abandoned by Theseus. A remarkable detail is that even Eros, who is also watching the scene, believes he recognizes a crying Aphrodite (312–313: αὐτὸς Ἔρως θάμβησεν, ἀπενθήτῳ δ' ἐνὶ Νάξῳ | εἰσιδέειν ἐδόκησεν ὀδυρομένην Ἀφροδίτην). The name "Ariadne" is mentioned several times in the narrator text (272 and 315), but for the internal audience of Eros and Dionysus, her name is only revealed in her desperate soliloquy (she names herself in lines 323, 383, 388, 391 and 412).[66]

5.2.5 *Ekphrasis, Interpretation and "Cultural Competence" in the Description of Beauty*

In each of the six speeches analysed, the speaker attempts to identify another character on sight. In his commentary on the Europa passage, Francis Vian refers to Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.87–92) and Euripides (*IT* 267–274) as examples of the same rhetorical procedure, and Marie-Christine Fayant adds to this the famous example of Odysseus' speech to Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.149–157).[67] An even more elaborate parallel can be found in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5): in Anchises' address to Aphrodite (91–106), he successively takes her for Artemis, Leto, Aphrodite (!), Themis, Athena, one of the Graces, a Hamadryad and a Naiad.[68]

The examples from the *Dionysiaca* differ from the earlier examples, not merely in the frequency of their occurences, but especially in their emphasis on argumentation. Each new hypothesis in these six speeches is motivated, either

tional beauty; Pasithea, Selene and Artemis because of their association with sleep; Selene and Thetis because of their association with solitary places.

66 Dionysus' encounter with Ariadne has, however, already been prophetically announced to him by Eros in 43.426, which makes it all the more remarkable that both fail to recognize her.

67 Vian 1976, 140. In both Pindar and Euripides one or more anonymous speakers (τις) give an amazed reaction upon seeing one of the main characters in the poem (Pelias in Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.87–92), Orestes and Pylades in Euripides (*IT* 267–274)) and hold them to be gods, after which several possible hypotheses of identification are mentioned. Also similar to the examples in Nonnus is the effect of spontaneity, created by the exclamations of amazement and sudden changes of opinion with regard to the identity of the "divine beauty". In the case of Nausicaa, the hypothesis identifying her as Artemis is, interestingly, also motivated by the mentioning of a physical resemblance (*Od.* 6.152: εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φυήν τ' ἄγχιστα ἐίσκω). See also Fayant 2000, 44: "un procédé rhétorique fréquent chez Nonnos et connu de la poésie lyrique et dramatique: la comparaison d'un inconnu avec une divinité."

68 See also Faulkner 2008, 173 for an analysis of this passage.

by refutation of an earlier argument (especially so in the cases of Europa and Ariadne) or by taking into account new visual clues (especially so in the cases of Cadmus and Harmonia, and Semele). The speaking characters interpret an exceptional scene as if they were art critics interpreting a painting to which no title has been given.[69]

Therefore, Philostratus' *Imagines* is—and this not only in the case of Ariadne—an interesting source for comparison, because this collection of ekphraseis not only describes paintings, but is also a demonstration of the art of the interpreter.

> What one could learn from Philostratus was how cultured people looked at paintings. The *Imagines* are strategies of how to view, they are, in effect, a culturally acceptable ideology of viewing.
>
> ELSNER 1995, 29

The art critic in the *Imagines* not only interprets the paintings but also demonstrates how to do this. The first instruction he gives to his internal audience of youths is to look away from the painting (*Imag*. 1.1: συμβάλωμεν οὖν ὅ τι νοεῖ, σὺ δὲ ἀπόβλεψον αὐτῶν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ γραφή) to the literary events on which it is based (in this case a passage from the *Iliad*), in order to interpret it correctly and not to be lost in wonder (θαῦμα ἡγούμενος).[70] Similarly, Lucian, in his *De Domo* (1–2), describes the uneducated viewer as someone who can only stare in wonder. The educated viewer, on the other hand, has the knowledge to express his admiration in a suitable speech and to vie with the images in order to equal or even exceed the sight in words.[71] Interestingly, Philostratus, in his

69 See also Shorrock (2014, 320) on the identification of Ariadne: "At the same time this scene poses a wider question about how one reads images when labels are not supplied […]. Here in fact is a master class in Late Antique art criticism—we see the process whereby possible identifications are considered and rejected because of the necessary visual cues […]."

70 See also Elsner 1995, 29–30: "The cultural beholder cannot be 'lost in wonder' but must always have recourse to a contextualising hermeneutic tool." Newby (2009, 330–331) mentions an example from Pausanias (5.17–19) in which he interprets the images on the Chest of Cypselus with Homer as a hermeneutic tool, and states that it was "a tendency shared by Roman viewers" to search in the first place for a Homeric interpretation of images, whether correct or not. Also in the *Dionysiaca* the interpreting characters try to overcome their initial state of wonder by searching for an explanation.

71 See also Newby 2002 and 2009, 327. As Newby notes (2002, 128), there is no definitive answer in Lucian's *De Domo* to the question of whether words can defeat images: "This sense of a rivalry between the power of images and words, implicit in the first speaker's

ekphrasis of a painting of Ariadne (*Imag*. 1.15), also comments on the elements in the painting that allow identification, and on how the painter has not chosen the easiest way to represent identifiable characters (Ariadne and Theseus by their beauty and Dionysus by his many attributes) as less skilled painters would do, but rather by the expressions of emotion on their faces.[72]

Similarly, the substantiated interpretations "on sight" in our six speeches could be read as reflections on the art of interpretation—of visual representations of myths, but also of poetry—and, therefore, be interpreted as an invitation to the reader to reflect on his own readership, on his interpretation and visualization of the events in the poem. The text-internal observer is an eyewitness and thus privileged in comparison to the reader, who is, on the one hand, better informed—for the characters are identified by the narrator—but, on the other, can only visualize with the help of the clues revealed in the narrative. Therefore, the emotional reaction of the internal observer is a key element in the perception of the images by the reader. He or she acts as an intermediary between the story and its recipient.

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notion that images should be articulated, will later be made explicit in the second half of the dialogue with the second's speaker's contention that words are *not* strong enough to fight against the power of sight."

72 Philostr. *Imag*. 1.15.2: ῥᾴδιον γὰρ ἅπαντι καλὴν μὲν τὴν Ἀριάδνην γράφειν, καλὸν δὲ τὸν Θησέα, Διονύσου τε μυρία φάσματα τοῖς γράφειν ἢ πλάττειν βουλομένοις, ὧν κἂν μικροῦ τύχῃ τις, ᾕρηκε τὸν θεόν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ κόρυμβοι στέφανος ὄντες Διονύσου γνώρισμα, κἂν τὸ δημιούργημα φαύλως ἔχῃ, καὶ κέρας ὑπεκφυόμενον τῶν κροτάφων Διόνυσον δηλοῖ, καὶ πάρδαλις ὑπεκφαινομένη αὖ τοῦ θεοῦ σύμβολον· ἀλλ' οὗτός γε ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἐρᾶν γέγραπται. σκευὴ μὲν γὰρ ἠνθισμένη καὶ θύρσοι καὶ νεβρίδες, ἔρριπται ταῦτα ὡς ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲ κυμβάλοις αἱ Βάκχαι χρῶνται νῦν οὐδὲ οἱ Σάτυροι αὐλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Πὰν κατέχει τὸ σκίρτημα, ὡς μὴ διαλύσειε τὸν ὕπνον τῆς κόρης, ἁλουργίδι τε στείλας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ῥόδοις ἀνθίσας ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀριάδνην ὁ Διόνυσος, μεθύων ἔρωτι φησὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκρατῶς ἐρώντων ὁ Τήιος. "For it is easy for anyone to paint Ariadne as beautiful and Theseus as beautiful; and there are countless characteristics of Dionysus for those who wish to represent him in painting or sculpture, by depicting which even approximately the artist has captured the god. For instance, the ivy clusters forming a crown are the clear mark of Dionysus, even if the workmanship is poor; and a horn just springing from the temples reveals Dionysus, and a leopard, though but just visible, is a symbol of the god; but this Dionysus the painter has characterized by love alone. Flowered garments and thyrsi and fawn-skins have been cast aside as out of place for the moment, and the Bacchants are not clashing their cymbals now, nor are the Satyrs playing the flute, nay, even Pan checks his wild dance that he may not disturb the maiden's sleep. Having arrayed himself in fine purple and wreathed his head with roses, Dionysus comes to the side of Ariadne, "drunk with love" as the Teian poet says of those who are overmastered by love" (transl. Fairbanks 1931).

In a certain way, the fact that the internal observers do not (and cannot) know from mythology the events they witness also makes their astonishment more authentic. They experience θαῦμα but cannot identify the protagonists.[73] The reader, through their eyes, is forced to look at the events as if it was his first encounter with these famous mythological stories. An interesting parallel for the speech of the sailor on Europa in this respect is, therefore, the dialogue in Lucian's *Dialogi marini* (15) in which Zephyrus, an eye-witness, relates the Europa story to Notus as if it were the latest bit of gossip.[74]

The viewer's θαῦμα, moreover, also adds ἐνάργεια to the narrative. In her book on the ancient theory on ekphrasis, Ruth Webb (2009, 146–148) gives two examples from rhetorical theory (Sopater, *On the division of questions* 224) and practice (Aelius Aristides, fragment in Hermogenes *Id.* 244–245) to illustrate the function in ekphrasis of what I have called the text-internal observer. Both are examples of descriptions of storms in which the storm itself, "a familiar enough event from both life and literature" (2009, 147), is only described in a few details. What renders these storm ekphraseis so impressive is the description of the effect of the storm on the persons present.

> In both Sopatros' example and Aristeides' lost speech, the impact of the phenomenon described upon a human perceiver was all important: the audience were not just to 'see' the event, but were supposed to 'feel' as the speaker did. The focalization of description through a viewer, emphasized by the repeated verbs of seeing in the ekphrasis (horon, theomenos), was therefore important to this type of rhetorical ekphrasis.
>
> WEBB 2009, 147–148

The dominant emotion in our six speeches is admiration and wonder. The speeches seem to be part of a broader tendency in the *Dionysiaca* to put emphasis on the pleasure of viewing. Gianfranco Agosti, in an article connecting the *Dionysiaca* to the aesthetics of the visual arts in Late Antiquity, explains that the *Dionysiaca* is exemplary of the general emphasis on "lo sguardo e la visione"

73 See also Lada-Richards (2003), 62–63 and Aristotle, *Poet.* 1448b.14–17: διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο χαίρουσι τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρῶντες, ὅτι συμβαίνει θεωροῦντας μανθάνειν καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι τί ἕκαστον, οἷον ὅτι οὗτος ἐκεῖνος· "This is why people enjoy looking at images, because through contemplating them it comes about that they understand and infer what each element means, for instance that 'this person is so-and-so'" (transl. Halliwell 1995).

74 This dialogue is also mentioned by Vian (1976, 16) and Gigli Piccardi (2003, 129–131) as a parallel and possible source for Nonnus' Europa episode. See n. 32 and 34.

(2008, 24, see also 2006a, 357) in late antique arts and literature. For an example in the visual arts, he refers to the penetrating gaze of the Fayum portraits.

> La poesia non manca di cogliere l'intensità dello sguardo: le *Dionisiache*, in particolare, sono il trionfo dello sguardo, specie di quello curioso, ammiccante, seducente. Il poeta è interessato alla *reazione* di chi guarda, che perlopiù si tramuta in ammirata stupefazione. [...] La meraviglia dinanzi alla bellezza delle opera d'arte [...] o degli spettacoli naturali [...] è un aspetto costitutivo della poetica di un'opera che canta Dioniso, il dio del cangiante.
>
> AGOSTI 2008, 25–26

Apart from the scenes in which the characters express their amazement upon seeing a palace (3.124–183: Cadmus upon entering the palace of Electra, or 18.67–92: Dionysus upon entering the palace of Staphylus) or a work of art (25.563–567: Dionysus' entourage upon seeing the shield made by Hephaestus),[75] the pleasure of viewing is most apparent in the many voyeuristic scenes of the *Dionysiaca*. Beautiful young boys and girls are spied upon by their admirers, often during a bathing scene or when the wind reveals a body part usually covered by clothing. In his chapter on the voyeuristic gaze in the *Dionysiaca*, John Joseph Winkler (1974, 1–68) lists a total of 23 voyeuristic descriptions.[76]

Notwithstanding the emphasis on the voyeuristic gaze, physical details are in these episodes surprisingly scarce. As Gisèle Chrétien notes, Nonnus rarely gives concrete details on the appearance of his characters. (She mentions a few

75 These ekphraseis of shields, gardens and other works of art in Nonnus are, of course, heir to the tradition starting with the ekphrasis of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.468–607) and the garden and palace of Alcinous (*Od.* 7.84–132). See also Agosti 2008, 22–26, Kröll 2013, 119–120 and Faber 2016.

76 Winkler 1974, 2–3: 1.525–534 (simile), 4.79–154 (Peisinoe—Cadmus), 5.299–315 (Actaeon—Artemis), 5.473–492 (Actaeon—Artemis), 5.586–610 (Zeus—Persephone), 7.171–279 (Zeus—Semele), 10.175–194 (Dionysus—Ampelus), 10.264–276 (Dionysus—Ampelus), 11.406–418 (Calamus—Carpus), 15.220–254 (Hymnus—Nicaea), 16.11–18 (Dionysus—Nicaea), 17.217–224 (Orontes—Helice), 34.273–280 (Morrheus—Chalcomede), 34.305–314 (Morrheus—Chalcomede), 35.21–78 (Indian—Bacchante), 35.103–108 (Morrheus—Chalcomede), 38.113–129 (Helius—Clymene), 40.319–326 (Dionysus—Tyre), 42.71–88 (Dionysus—Beroe), 42.346–354 (Dionysus—Beroe), 42.447–455 (Poseidon—Beroe), 48.108–123 (Dionysus—Pallene) and 48.382–369 (Aura—Artemis).

rare cases in which we are informed about their hair colour.[77]) The insatiable gaze of the observer and the many comparisons to beautiful deities only hint indirectly at their exceptional beauty.[78] When considering the limited number of deities they are compared or confused with, one could assume that all beauties in the *Dionysiaca* look almost exactly alike. Beautiful women are most often compared to the goddesses Selene and Aphrodite,[79] beautiful men to Eros, Apollo or Hermes.[80]

References to these mythological figures, however, must have triggered a whole range of images in the mind of Nonnus' educated readers, as we can presume that Nonnus and his reading public must have shared a similar experience-based knowledge of classical iconography. This is the compound of "cultural competence" Ruth Webb refers to in her discussion of the functioning of ekphrasis. "The orator uses his own visual resources to call up images which already exist in the audience's mind" (2009, 110).[81] If speaker/author and audience/reader do not share the same mental images, the ekphrasis fails.[82] She

77 Chrétien (1985, 142) mentions: 4.134 on Cadmus, 10.174 and 30.253 on Dionysus, 11.465 on Calamus and 16.81 on Nicaea. It must be noted that the *Iliad* reveals just as little detail about the physical appearance of Helen, who is admired for her exceptional beauty by the other characters (esp. 3.156–160 by the Trojan men, see also n. 25 and 41 above).

78 See also Kröll 2014, 255 and 2016, 67 on Dionysus' hypotheses about the identity of Ampelus (see 5.2.4.2). Kröll 2014, 255: "Here, Nonnus gives a portrait of Ampelus *ex negativo*. He himself does not have any individual characteristics; just by comparing him with other mythological figures his 'picture' is created."

79 In the six speeches, four deities appear more than once: Selene (3×), Aphrodite (3×), Thetis (2×) and Athena (2×). Beautiful people in the *Dionysiaca* are also elsewhere, both by narrator and characters, compared to these deities. A few examples: comparisons to Aphrodite with regard to beauty (1.59, 15.210, 15.286, 16.135, 33.20, 33.171, 34.57, 34.119, 41.232, 42.460, 47.313, 48.230 and 48.352) and to Selene (4.136, 10.192, 15.243, 15.284, 16.18, 16.48, 34.42, 38.124, 41.257 and 48.322).

80 In the six speeches, three deities appear more than once: Eros (2×), Hermes (2×) and Apollo (2×). In the case of Hermes and Apollo, it can be noted that they twice appear together and in the same order.

81 Also (2009, 110): "Such details would no doubt have been so loaded, so telling, for Roman readers like Quintilian that they might not themselves have been fully aware of the amount of decoding involved in their response. This example reveals the extent to which what must have been immediate, practically unconscious, associations for the original audience were in fact culturally specific and demanded a degree of what one might call 'cultural competence' from both speaker and audience if they were to be fully successful."

82 See esp. 2009, 125–126. A striking example of this procedure within the fiction of the *Dionysiaca* is 4.102–105 (see 5.2.4.1 above): Peisinoe claims to recognize Cadmus as Apollo because of his resemblance to a statue she has seen in Delphi.

furthermore argues that, with a public of rhetorically educated readers in mind, this repertoire of available mental images was rather predictable. "In fact, one of the most important functions of rhetorical education itself was to ensure that this was so" (2009, 126).

5.3 Comments from Above

The final part of this chapter presents an analysis of five speeches of divine text-internal observers. Their reactions to the events in the *Dionysiaca* are not of wonder but of amusement combined with bitterness or pride, as they utter their speeches from an all-knowing bird's-eye perspective. Whereas the anonymous observers make conjectures to interpret the events and identify the protagonists they see, the bird's-eye perspective gives the divine observers a clear overview of all the facts and enables them to respond to them with humour.

5.3.1 *Hera about Europa and Zeus*

Hera's speech commenting on Zeus' affair with Europa (no. 20, 1.326–343) is the third speech in the *Dionysiaca*. After the soliloquy of the anonymous sailor (see above under 5.2.1) and the lament of Europa herself (1.128–136), it also offers yet another different perspective on the scene of Zeus kidnapping Europa. The camera moves from the perspective of an ignorant outsider, over that of one of the protagonists of the scene (who is only partially aware of what exactly is going on), to that of an omniscient divine observer. Simultaneously, Hera's speech is also the first speech uttered by one of the true protagonists of the poem. It introduces the important theme of Hera's jealousy and wrath towards Zeus' mortal loves and their sons, which is one of the major connecting threads throughout the *Dionysiaca*.[83] By the phrase γελόωντι χόλῳ in the introductory line, the narratee is warned of the bitter humour in this speech, which is in sharp contrast to the emotional tone of the two previous speeches, which express feelings of amazement and fear respectively.

83 Hera acts as a jealous wife and vengeful stepmother against the first Dionysus, Zagreus (6.201: μητρυιὴ βαρύμηνις), gets Semele killed by Zeus as a result of her ruse (8.181: ζήλῳ φυσιόωσα), attacks the baby Dionysus twice and takes revenge on his foster mothers (book 9), repeatedly interferes in the Indian War (regular appearances in books 14–36) and even deceives Zeus and strikes Dionysus down with madness to sabotage the Bacchic cause (books 31–32). She makes her final appearance in book 47, when she incites Perseus to fight Dionysus (speech: 537–566) and supports him in battle (608–611).

Φοῖβε, τεῷ γενετῆρι παρίστασο, μή τις ἀροτρεύς
Ζῆνα λαβὼν ἐρύσειεν ἐς ἐννοσίγαιον ἐχέτλην.
Αἴθε λαβὼν ἐρύσειεν, ὅπως Διὶ τοῦτο βοήσω·
'Τέτλαθι διπλόα κέντρα καὶ ἀγρονόμων καὶ Ἐρώτων.'
Ὡς Νόμιος, Κλυτότοξε, τεὸν ποίμαινε τοκῆα,
μὴ Κρονίδην ζεύξειε βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη,
μὴ λέχος Ἐνδυμίωνος ἰδεῖν σπεύδουσα νομῆος
Ζηνὸς ὑποστίξειεν ἀφειδέι νῶτον ἱμάσθλῃ.—
Ζεῦ ἄνα, πόρτις ἐοῦσα κερασφόρος ἤμβροτεν Ἰώ,
ὅττι σε μή ποτε τοῖον ἴδεν πόσιν, ὄφρα λοχεύσῃ
ἰσοφυῆ τινα ταῦρον ὁμοκραίρῳ παρακοίτῃ.
Ἑρμείαν πεφύλαξο βοοκλόπον ἠθάδι τέχνῃ,
μή σε λαβὼν ἅτε ταῦρον ἑὸν κλέψειε τοκῆα,
καὶ κιθάρην ὀπάσειε τεῷ πάλιν υἱέι Φοίβῳ
ἅρπαγος ἁρπαμένου κειμήλιον.—Ἀλλὰ τί ῥέξω;
Ὤφελεν ἀγρύπνοισιν ὅλον δέμας ὄμμασι λάμπων
Ἄργος ἔτι ζώειν, ἵνα δύσβατον εἰς νομὸν ἕλκων
πλευρὰ Διὸς πλήξειε καλαύροπι βουκόλος Ἥρης.

Phoibos, go and stand by your father, or some plowman may catch Zeus and put him to some earthshaking plowtree. I wish one *would* catch him and put him to the plow! Then I could shout to my lord—'Learn to bear two goads now, Cupid's and the farmer's!' You must be verily Lord of Pastures, my fine Archer, and shepherd your parent, or cattle-driver Selene may put Cronides under the yoke, she may score Zeus's back with her merciless lash when she is off to herdsman Endymion's bed in a hurry! Zeus your Majesty! It is a pity Io did not see you coming like that to court her, when she was a heifer with horns on her forehead! She might have bred you a little bull as horny as his father! Look out for Hermes! The professional cattle-lifter may think he is catching a bull and steal his own father! He may give his harp once again to your son Phoibos, as price for the ravisher ravished. But what can I do? If only Argos were still alive, shining all over with sleepless eyes, that he might be Hera's drover, and drag Zeus to some inaccessible pasture, and prod his flanks with a crook!

The speech itself is crammed with rhetorical style elements enhancing πάθος, or rather false πάθος, because it has to be interpreted sardonically. Hera first changes opinion (326–327: μή [...] λαβὼν versus 328: αἴθε λαβὼν) then theatrically quotes her own possible future comment in an inserted line of direct speech (329, see also above under 3.2.1), and near the end she launches a desper-

ate rhetorical question (340: ἀλλὰ τί ῥέξω;).[84] Instead of hypothesizing about the identity of the bull, she fantasizes about the different possible consequences of Zeus' tauriform disguise and all the opportunities it creates for taking revenge. The first part of her speech is directed at a presumably absent Apollo, with two apostrophes in the vocative (326: Φοῖβε and 330: κλυτότοξε) and several imperatives (326: παρίστασο and 330: ποίμαινε); the second part at Zeus (334: Ζεῦ ἄνα)—who is obviously absent; the last part, introduced by the rhetorical question, is directed at herself.[85]

5.3.2 *Selene about Harmonia and Cadmus*

As indicated above, the speech of Selene (no. 21, 4.216–225) has to be seen in a context of allusive engagement with Apollonius. Parallel to her speech in Apollonius (*Argon.* 4.57–65) when Medea leaves her home for Jason, in Nonnus, she makes her comments as Harmonia is leaving Samothrace with Cadmus. Her speech in Nonnus is part of a larger cluster of allusions to Apollonius in the Cadmus episode, starting with the speech of the crow in book 3 (*D.* 3.103–122 ~ *Argon.* 3.932–937, see also above under 5.1.4).[86] With Apollonius already in mind and after a reference to Selene and Endymion in Harmonia's goodbye speech (4.194–196), the educated reader will not have been surprised by Selene's sudden intervention, but rather amused by the twist Nonnus gives to her speech to fit in this scene in imitation of Apollonius.

Apollonius' Selene laughs at the sudden infatuation of the witch Medea, whose magic she holds responsible for drawing her to Endymion's cave. In Nonnus' version, she laughs at Harmonia, who has done her no harm, for being a victim of Aphrodite like Selene herself, even though she is Aphrodite's daughter. The earlier reference to Selene's submission to love in Harmonia's own goodbye speech (4.182–196) as an element of comfort (196: ἶσα παθοῦσα παρηγορέει με Σελήνη) could, however, be regarded as a challenge bound to attract the goddess's attention.

Within the *Dionysiaca*, the speech of Selene has its immediate counterpart in the speech of the anonymous passenger of Cadmus' ship (4.238–246, ana-

84 Rhetorical questions of this type are used in the speeches of the *Dionysiaca* to express despair. Also in 1.381–382, 2.147, 11.441 and 23.286.

85 See also Vian's discussion of this speech (1978, 166): "Les sarcasmes d'Héra sont en revanche un jeu purement gratuit, selon un procédé qui a été étudié récemment par P. Krafft."

86 For an overview of the elements of imitation of Apollonius in the storyline of Cadmus and Harmonia in the *Dionysiaca*, see Vian 2001, 302–303. For an analysis of the two speeches of Selene, see Acosta-Hughes 2016, 516–519.

lysed under 5.2.2), as both text-internal observers are commenting on the same events. The two speeches relate to each other in the same way as the speech of Hera relates to the speech of the anonymous sailor in book 1, each giving a different perspective on the same events: unknowing versus all-knowing and amazed versus resentful. Only the order in which they appear has been reversed. The mocking tone of the speech is also in this case announced in the introductory line: the words are spoken by a φιλοκέρτομος Μήνη (4.215).

Κύπρι, καὶ εἰς σέο τέκνα κορύσσεαι, οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτῆς
ὑμετέρης ὠδῖνος ἐφείσατο κέντρον Ἐρώτων.
Ἣν τέκες, οὐκ ἐλέαιρες, ἀμείλιχε. Καὶ τίνα κούρην
οἰκτείρεις ἑτέρην, ὅτε σὸν γένος ἐς πόθον ἕλκεις;
Πλάζεο καὶ σύ, φίλη· Παφίης τέκος, εἰπὲ τεκούσῃ·
'Κερτομέει Φαέθων σε, καὶ αἰσχύνει με Σελήνη.'
Ἁρμονίη, λιπόπατρι δυσίμερε, κάλλιπε Μήνῃ
νυμφίον Ἐνδυμίωνα, καὶ ἄμφεπε Κάδμον ἀλήτην·
τλῆθι φέρειν πόνον ἶσον, ἐρωτοτόκῳ δὲ μερίμνῃ
μνώεο καὶ σὺ καμοῦσα ποθοβλήτοιο Σελήνης.

So you make war even upon your children, Cypris! Not even the fruit of your womb is spared by the goad of love! Don't you pity the girl you bore, hardheart? What other girl can you pity then, when you drag your own child into passion?—Then you must go wandering too, my darling. Say to your mother, Paphian's child, 'Phaëthon mocks you, and Selene puts me to shame.' Harmonia, love-tormented exile, leave to Mene her bridegroom Endymion, and care for your vagrant Cadmos. Be ready to endure as much trouble as I have, and when you are weary with lovebegetting anxiety, remember lovewounded Selene.

This short speech—only one line longer than the Apollonian model—is divided into two parts by the apostrophes to Aphrodite in the first part (216: Κύπρι and 218: ἀμείλιχε) and the apostrophes to Harmonia in the second (220: φίλη, Παφίης τέκος and 222: Ἁρμονίη, λιπόπατρι δυσίμερε). The first part rhetorically elaborates on the basic paradox of Aphrodite assaulting her own daughter (216–219). In the second, Selene directs a vivid request to Harmonia to pass a message to her mother (220–221). Although Harmonia cannot hear Selene, the message is rendered in direct speech, as if Selene were dictating it word for word to Harmonia to act as a messenger (see also above under 3.2.2). As was already pointed out in my analysis of Hera's speech, embedded speech is inserted to enhance πάθος and creates an effect of theatricality, or rather increases the

effect of theatricality that is already created by the sudden appearance of the moon goddess as a speaking character.

In the final lines of the speech, Harmonia is addressed a second time, now with a more compassionate tone. Selene now also sees her as a fellow sufferer. Like Selene's suffering was a comfort to Harmonia (4.196), Harmonia's suffering has become a comfort to Selene (4.224–225). The circle closes.

5.3.3 *Semele about Dionysus*

The third and the fourth examples (nos. 22 and 23) are closely interrelated. Both speeches are spoken by the recently deified Semele. Thematically, they form a triptych with Semele's triumphant speech immediately after her apotheosis (8.377–388), in which she arrogantly compares herself to her sisters. Book 9 presents the story of the childhood and early adolescence of Dionysus. The episode ends with Semele's comments (9.208–242), which also in content give closure to the storyline. Her speech puts emphasis on Dionysus' exceptional position among Zeus' children as having been given birth to by Zeus himself (209–218) and as the nursling of Zeus' own mother Rhea (219–242). Because it glorifies Dionysus' birth and education, it can also be regarded as an important speech in the encomiastic structure of the *Dionysiaca*.[87] Semele is the only character who comments on this episode.

The introductory line to this speech is exactly the same as that to Semele's earlier speech (8.376 = 9.207 αὐχένα γαῦρον ἄειρε καὶ ὑψινόῳ φάτο φωνῇ), announcing an arrogant, triumphant comment.

Ἥρη, ἐσυλήθης· Σεμέλης τόκος ἐστὶν ἀρείων·
Ζεὺς ἐμὸν υἷα λόχευσε καὶ ἀντ' ἐμέθεν πέλε μήτηρ·
σπεῖρε πατὴρ καὶ ἔτικτε, τὸν ἤροσεν, αὐτοτόκῳ δέ
γαστρὶ νόθῃ τέκε παῖδα, φύσιν δ' ἤλλαξεν ἀνάγκῃ.—
Βάκχος Ἐνυαλίου πέλε φέρτερος· ὑμέτερον γάρ
ἤροσε μοῦνον Ἄρηα καὶ οὐ τεκνώσατο μηρῷ.
Θήβη δ' Ὀρτυγίης κλέος ἔκρυφεν· οὐρανίη γάρ
λάθριον Ἀπόλλωνα διωκομένη τέκε Λητώ·
Λητὼ Φοῖβον ἔτικτε, καὶ οὐκ ὤδινε Κρονίων.
Ἑρμείαν τέκε Μαῖα, καὶ οὐκ ἐλόχευσεν ἀκοίτης.
Ἀμφαδίην δ' ἐμὸν υἷα πατὴρ τέκεν.—Ἆ μέγα θαῦμα,

87 On the discussion whether the *Dionysiaca* as a whole can be regarded as an epic encomium to Dionysus, with the basic structure of the βασιλικὸς λόγος (cf. Stegemann 1930, Lasky 1975 and 1978), see introduction, p. 12.

δέρκεο σῆς Διόνυσον ἐν ἀγκαλίδεσσι τεκούσης
πήχεϊ παιδοκόμῳ περικείμενον· Ἀενάου δὲ
ἡ ταμίη κόσμοιο, θεῶν πρωτόσπορος ἀρχή,
παμμήτωρ, Βρομίου τροφὸς ἔπλετο· νηπιάχῳ γάρ
Βάκχῳ μαζὸν ὄρεξε, τὸν ἔσπασεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεύς.—
Τίς Κρονίδης ὤδινε, τίς ἔτρεφεν Ἄρεα Ῥείη
παῖδα τεόν; Κυβέλη δὲ φατιζομένη σέο μήτηρ
Ζῆνα τέκεν καὶ Βάκχον ἀνέτρεφεν εἰν ἐνὶ κόλπῳ·
ἀμφοτέρους ἤειρε καὶ υἱέα καὶ γενετῆρα.
Οὐδὲ τόκῳ Σεμέλης ἀπάτωρ Ἥφαιστος ἐρίζοι,
ἄσπορον ἐκ γενετῆρος ὃν αὐτογόνος τέκεν Ἥρη,
λεπταλέων σκάζοντα ποδῶν ἑτεραλκέι ταρσῷ,
μητρῴην ἀτέλεστον ὑποκλέπτοντα λοχείην.
Οὐ Σεμέλῃ πέλε Μαῖα πανείκελος, ἧς πάις Ἑρμῆς
ἰσοφανὴς δολόεις, κεκορυθμένος οἷά περ Ἄρης,
Ἥρην ἠπερόπευσεν, ἕως γλάγος ἔσπασε μαζῶν.—
Εἴξατέ μοι· Σεμέλῃ γὰρ ἑὸν πόσιν ἔλλαχε μούνῃ
τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρόωντα καὶ ὠδίνοντα γενέθλην.
Ὀλβίστη Σεμέλη χάριν υἱέος· ἡμέτερος γάρ
νόσφι δόλου Διόνυσος ἐλεύσεται εἰς χορὸν ἄστρων
αἰθέρα ναιετάων πατρώιον, ὅττι θεαίνης
τοσσατίης ὑπέδεκτο θεοτρεφέος γάλα θηλῆς·
ἵξεται αὐτοκέλευστος ἐς οὐρανόν, οὐδὲ χατίζει
Ἡραίοιο γάλακτος ἀρείονα μαζὸν ἀμέλξας.

Hera, you are ruined! Semele's son has beaten you! Zeus brought forth my son, he was the mother in my place! The father begot, the father brought forth his begotten. He brought forth a child from a makeshift womb of his own, and forced nature to change. Bacchos was stronger than Enyalios; your Ares he only begot, and never childed with his thigh! Thebes has eclipsed the glory of Ortygia! For Leto the divine was chased about, and brought forth Apollo on the sly; Leto brought forth Phoibos, Cronion had no labour for him; Maia brought forth Hermes, her husband did not deliver him; but my son was brought forth openly by his father. Here's a great miracle! See Dionysos in the arms of your own mother, he lies on the cherishing arm! The Dispenser of the eternal universe, the first sown Beginning of the gods, the Allmother, became a nurse for Bromios; she offered to infant Bacchos the breast which Zeus High and Mighty has sucked! What Cronides was ever in labour, what Rheia was ever nurse for your boy? But this Cybele who is called your mother brought forth Zeus

> and suckled Bacchos in the same lap! She dandled them both, the son and the father. No fatherless Hephaistos could rival Semele's child, none unbegotten of a father whom Hera brought forth by her own begetting—and now he limps about on an illmatched pair of feeble legs to hide his mother's bungling skill in childbirth! Maia was not quite like Semele; for her son, crafty, armed himself like Ares, and looking like him, deluded Hera until he sucked the milk of her breasts. Give place to me all! For Semele alone had a husband, who got and groaned for the same child. Semele is happiest, because of her son: for my Dionysos will come without scheming into the company of the stars; he will dwell in his father's heaven, because he drew milk from the godnursing teat of that mighty goddess. He will come selfsummoned into the heavens; he needs not Hera's milk, for he has milked a nobler breast.

Semele immediately claims victory over Hera, whom she addresses in an apostrophe at the start of her speech (208: Ἥρη, ἐσυλήθης). By using the verb συλάω, she implicitly likens their rivalry to a military combat. Her speech is the speech of a victor, framed by ἐσυλήθης (208) at its beginning and εἴξατέ μοι (235) near its end. The military vocabulary is in sharp contrast with the contents of the speech: two women fighting over a man and competing with each other using the valour and status of their sons. It could therefore be interpreted as a parody on a victor's speech after battle.[88]

The first and the final lines of the speech also form a clear ring-composition, visible in the repetition of the comparative ἀρείων: Dionysus is a better child (208: Σεμέλης τόκος ἐστὶν ἀρείων), Rhea's milk is better than Hera's (242: Ἡραίοιο γάλακτος ἀρείονα μαζὸν ἀμέλξας). One might wonder whether the emphasis on this comparative ἀρείων, when comparing Dionysus to Ares (224: τίς ἔτρεφεν Ἄρεα Ῥείη), is simultaneously a pun on the latter's name, making Dionysus "the comparative of Ares".

The sudden exclamation of wonder ὢ μέγα θαῦμα (218) and the many short sentences in the speech create an impression of spontaneity and excitement.

5.3.4 *Semele about Ino*

Semele's last speech (no. 23, 10.129–136)—and simultaneously also her last appearance in the *Dionysiaca*—is the closing piece of the next episode, the account of the tragic story of her sister Ino (9.247–10.138). It both marks the

88 For a discussion on speeches of martial triumph as a type of epic speech, see Fingerle 1939, 150–161 "Triumphreden".

end of the Ino episode and reintroduces the storyline of Dionysus' youth. In the introductory lines, Zeus shows Semele that her sister has received the divine favour of immortality in the sea because of her foster-motherhood of Dionysus (126–128). Semele at first appears to be happy with the good fate of her sister, as the word χαρεῖσα (127) seems to suggest, but nevertheless her speech is announced as φιλοκέρτομον (128). Consequently, in the capping lines Semele is also referred to as κερτομέουσα.

Ἰνώ, πόντον ἔχεις, Σεμέλη λάχε κύκλον Ὀλύμπου·
Εἶξον ἐμοί· Κρονίδην γὰρ ἐμῆς ἀροτῆρα γενέθλης
ἀθάνατον πόσιν ἔσχον, ἐμῆς ὠδῖνα λοχείης
ἀντ' ἐμέθεν τίκτοντα, σὺ δὲ χθονίῳ παρακοίτῃ
νυμφεύθης Ἀθάμαντι, τεῆς ὀλετῆρι γενέθλης.
σὸς πάις ἔλλαχε πόντον, ἐμὸς τόκος αἰθέρα ναίειν
ἵξεται εἰς Διὸς οἶκον ὑπέρτερον· οὐ γὰρ ἐίσκω
οὐράνιον Διόνυσον ὑποβρυχίῳ Μελικέρτῃ.

Ino, you have the sea, Semele has gained the round heavens! Give me place! I had an immortal husband in Cronides the plower of my field, who brought forth the fruit of my birth instead of me; but you were wedded to a mortal mate Athamas, the murderer of your family. Your son's lot is the sea, but my son will come to the house of Zeus to dwell in the sky. I will not compare heavenly Dionysos with Melicertes down in the water!

The speech itself clearly responds to its characterization as φιλοκέρτομον and the reason for Semele's cheerfulness (χαρεῖσα) has proven to be entirely selfish. Like the rivalry between the "wives" of Zeus, the rivalry between the daughters of Cadmus (Semele, Agave, Autonoe and Ino) is also a recurring motif in the *Dionysiaca*.[89] Here, Semele states that heaven and sea are divided between them, claiming her own superiority, like Zeus over Poseidon.[90] The syncrisis between the two sisters, again comparing husbands and sons, forms the larger

89 The fame and glory of the sisters is first compared in the speech by Zeus to Semele after the conception of Dionysus (7.362–366). Later in the poem, the comparison is resumed by Semele herself (8.303–309 and 8.382–388)—as is also the case here—, by Hermes (in his speech to Ino, 9.72–81) and by Dionysus (in his speech to Autonoe, 44.283–318). Finally, not the glory but the misery of the children of Cadmus is compared in Cadmus' lament after the death of Pentheus (46.192–208).

90 Cf. *Il.* 15.185–199 for the division of lots between Zeus, Poseidon and Hades.

part of the short speech. Note also that the phrase εἶξον ἐμοί (10.130 ~ 9.235) recalls Semele's earlier speech, of which this speech seems to be a shorter doublet.

5.3.5 *Aphrodite about Morrheus and Chalcomede*

Whereas the opening lines of all four speeches analysed thus far contain an apostrophe to one of the characters below on earth (or, in Hera's speech to a presumably absent Apollo), my final example of a divine observer's speech (no. 24, 35.164–183) is the only one in which the person addressed in the opening line (164: Ἆρες) is also actually present and listening. Aphrodite gently mocks Ares, as was announced in the introductory lines (163: ἑὸν δ' ἐρέθιζεν ἀκοίτην). The capping lines also mention both Ares and Aphrodite (184–185: εἶπε μόθους γελόωσα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη, | Ἄρεα κερτομέουσα γαμοστόλον) and emphasize once more that it is a speech accompanied by laughter (γελόωσα) and mockery (κερτομέουσα).

These mocking comments of Aphrodite quite suddenly interrupt the finale of the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode (books 33–35). Morrheus in 155–160 has only just disarmed himself to bathe in the river before his union with Chalcomede (so he thinks), or rather before his final defeat by love (as the reader already presumes). Extra tension is created by the delay resulting from the triumphant reappearance of Aphrodite, who also was the instigator of this sub-plot (cf. 33.25–194).

Ἆρες, ἐσυλήθης· πολέμους ἠρνήσατο Μορρεύς·
οὐ φορέει θώρηκα καὶ οὐ ξίφος, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα
ἱμερτὴν ποθέων ἀπεσείσατο τεύχεα χειρῶν.
Καὶ σὺ τεὸν δόρυ θοῦρον ἀναίνεο, καὶ σὺ θαλάσσῃ
λούεο σῶν σακέων γυμνούμενος· ἀπτόλεμος γάρ
Κύπρις ἀριστεύει πλέον Ἄρεος, οὐδὲ χατίζει
ἀσπίδος, οὐ μελίης ποτὲ δεύεται· ἀμφότερον γάρ
ἔγχος ἐμὸν πέλε κάλλος, ἐμὸν ξίφος ἔπλετο μορφή,
καὶ βλεφάρων ἀκτῖνες ἐμοὶ γεγάασιν ὀιστοί·
μαζὸς ἀκοντίζει πλέον ἔγχεος· ἱμερόεις γάρ
ἀντὶ δοριθρασέος θαλαμηπόλος ἔπλετο Μορρεύς.
Μὴ Σπάρτης ἐπίβηθι, μαχήμονες ἧχι πολῖται
χάλκεον εἶδος ἔχουσι κορυσσομένης Ἀφροδίτης,
μή σε δόρυ κρατέουσα τεῷ πλήξειε σιδήρῳ.
Οὐ τόσον αἰχμάζεις, ὅσον ὀφρύες· οὐ τόσον αἰχμαί
ἀνέρας οὐτάζουσιν, ὅσον βάλλουσιν ὀπωπαί·
δέρκεο σοὺς θεράποντας, ὑποδρηστῆρας Ἐρώτων,

καὶ θρασὺν αὐχένα κάμψον ἀνικήτῳ Κυθερείῃ.
Ἆρες, ἐνικήθης, ὅτι χάλκεον ἔγχος ἐάσσας
νεβρίδα Χαλκομέδης γαμίην ὑπεδύσατο Μορρεύς.

Ares, you are beaten! Morrheus has renounced war, and bears no corselet and no sword; no, for love of a winsome woman he has cast the arms from his hands. You do the same—renounce your own valiant spear, strip off your shields, and bathe in the sea! For Cypris without battle plays the champion better than Ares. She needs no shield, she never wants the ashplant; for my beauty is a spear for me, my fine shape also is my sword, the gleams of my eyes are my arrows. My breast lets fly a better shot than a javelin; for Morrheus has turned from a bold warrior to an amiable chamberlain! Do not go near Sparta, where the warlike people have a bronze image of armed Aphrodite, lest spear in hand she strike you with your own steel! You cannot shoot so straight as eyebrows do; Look at your servants, the lackeys of the Loves, and bow your bold neck to Cythereia the unconquerable. You are conquered, Ares! For Morrheus has left his spear of bronze and donned the wedding fawnskin of Chalcomede.

The speech opens with Ἆρες, ἐσυλήθης (164), reminiscent of Ἥρη, ἐσυλήθης· (9.208) in Semele's first speech (see 5.3.3. above). Again, we can see a ring-composition with Ἆρες, ἐνικήθης (182) at the end of the speech. Here, however, ἐσυλήθης has a double meaning. Morrheus, who is equated with Ares, has not only been defeated by Chalcomede's beauty but also willingly strips off his armour to go bathing at her request. Since both Morrheus and Chalcomede have already compared themselves to Ares and Aphrodite (cf. 35.113, 35.147), Aphrodite's immediate transposition of Ares for Morrheus needs no further explanation. The largest part of her speech (168–181) is a generalization of Aphrodite's and Chalcomede's victory over Morrheus and Ares to a victory of love over war, thus giving a symbolic meaning to the entire Morrheus and Chalcomede episode.

5.3.6 *Humour and the Divine Perspective*

The emotional responses of the goddesses to the events in the poem are very different from those of the amazed anonymous observers discussed earlier. On the one hand, they have the knowledge to interpret the situation below correctly, without hypotheses and conjectures; on the other, although they are not actively involved in the episodes on which they comment, they are emotionally involved because the protagonists of the episodes in question are their unfaithful husband (Hera—Zeus), glorious son (Semele—Dionysus), (un)happy sister

(Semele—Ino) or victorious protégée (Aphrodite—Chalcomede). Only Selene lacks a personal connection with Harmonia, on whose departure with Cadmus she makes her comments. These two factors (knowledge and emotional involvement) give the speakers a different perspective on the events in the poem, which explains the different tone of their speeches in comparison to those of the other commenting characters.

The contrast between Hera's perspective and that of the sailor catches the eye because both are comments on the same scene and both elaborate on its paradoxical nature. Whereas for the sailor the paradox lies in the fact that a bull is carrying a girl across the sea, for Hera it lies in the fact that a mighty god (1.334: Ζεῦ ἄνα) has taken the shape of a (servile, agricultural) bull because he has fallen under the spell of the truly almighty Eros.

The different perspectives presented in the speeches of the goddesses may also suggest new perspectives to the reader for his interpretation of the poem. Semele's interpretation of Dionysus' childhood under the care of Rhea as a victory over Hera, for example, suggests an interpretation of this episode as the first victory of Dionysus over the other sons of Zeus and his first step towards apotheosis. And Aphrodite's reaction to Chalcomede's victory over Morrheus generalizes this victory as one of love over war and thus invites a symbolic interpretation. Both lines of interpretation are also important for the *Dionysiaca* as a whole, in which amorous and warlike adventures alternate on Dionysus' path towards apotheosis.

An element which all five speeches have in common is their mocking tone. Zeus, Harmonia and Morrheus/Ares are mocked for their submission to love, Hera and Ino for their 'defeat' by a superior Semele. The effect of this element of derision and mockery in these speeches is twofold. On the one hand, by showing the irony of the episode commented upon, these speeches seem to suggest an equally light and humorous interpretation of the episode to the reader. On the other, the characterization of the goddesses as shrewd, vengeful and biased spectators also undermines the value of their judgement, which will prevent the reader from taking on their point of view. In any case, both the characterization of the goddesses in these speeches and their pointed analyses of the events in the poem add a comic note, which, in my opinion, is also an important factor in explaining their function in the narrative.

5.4 A Double Role

To sum up, the large number of speeches in the *Dionysiaca* spoken by observing, non-intervening characters have a range of different narrative functions. In

general, they can be seen as breaks in the narrative, interrupting an episode and delaying its progress. By allowing eye-witnesses to speak out on a regular basis, the Nonnian narrator constantly introduces new perspectives on the storyline. The fact that in some cases several commenting speeches are juxtaposed (Hera versus the Achaean sailor; Selene versus the passenger of Cadmus' boat) is an indication of the versatility of Nonnus' poetry and the variety of possible interpretations according to perspective.

The visualization of the episodes through the observing characters' eyes, the emotional reactions, the comparisons they make and the mythological parallels they suggest, to a certain extent also guide the reader's experience and interpretation of the events in the poem. The characterization of these internal observers as naïve and ignorant or, by contrast, vengeful and biased, however, simultaneously prevents the reader from fully identifying with them and fully adopting their point of view. Whereas the speeches by amazed spectators, describing a wonderful sight, certainly help the reader to visualize, they may also leave the reader frustrated because he cannot actually see the protagonists, who are only rarely described in concrete terms with physical details.

In short, these observing characters clearly have a double role to play. They are part of the mythological world described in the poem, but simultaneously they are also first-hand recipients of the events in the poem. As such they hold up a mirror to the reader. But, if I may further develop this metaphor, the reflection in the mirror is not exact but, as in a hall of mirrors at a funfair, distorted and caricaturized.

CHAPTER 6

Rhetoric of Seduction and Failure of Communication in the Beroe Episode*

Because of the high number of love stories in the *Dionysiaca*, a significant proportion of its speeches occur in an amatory context. Therefore, in the final chapter of this book, I choose to present a case study on amatory rhetoric in the *Dionysiaca*. As already mentioned in chapter 4 in reference to the speeches marked as "deceptive", ruse is also used in order to win the beloved's heart. Most remarkably, three successive courting-speeches by Dionysus in the Beroe episode (books 41–43) are introduced with a reference to their deceitfulness.[1] In contrast to all other "deceptive" speeches in the *Dionysiaca*, however, these three are the only ones whose manipulative goal is not achieved. They present fine examples of failed persuasion, but also—more generally—of failed communication, as the reason for this failure primarily lies in Beroe's inability to understand Dionysus' intentions.

6.1 Amatory Rhetoric: The Case of the παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι

In the *Dionysiaca*, generally, amorous adventures alternate with other (mainly warlike) adventures. The part of the poem before Dionysus' birth contains the stories of the affairs of Zeus with Europa (book 1), Persephone (books 5–6) and Semele (books 7–8), and in the remaining 40 books Dionysus himself falls in love no less than seven times: with Ampelus in books 10–11, with Nicaea in book 16, with Hymenaeus in book 29, with Beroe in book 42, with Ariadne in book 47 and with Pallene and Aura in book 48. In addition, the *Dionysiaca* also recounts the stories of the love of Hymnus for Nicaea (book 15), Morrheus for Chalcomede (books 33–35) and Poseidon for Beroe (book 42).

When looking at the "rhetoric of seduction"[2] used in these episodes, several interesting strategies can be discerned. Dionysus (also "deceptively", see chap-

* This chapter further elaborates a case study presented in Verhelst 2011 (in Dutch).

1 Ronald Newbold in his article "Mimesis and Illusion in Nonnus: Deceit, Distrust, and the Search for Meaning" uses the Beroe episode to demonstrate the prominence of the theme of deception in the *Dionysiaca*. Newbold 2010, 85: "The episode exemplifies the salience of the theme in Nonnus".

2 In the book by Nicolas Gross (1985 *Amatory Persuasion in Antiquity*), the chapter entitled

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ter 4.1) flatters Ampelus by pretending to believe that the young Satyr is actually a god (10.196–216, see also 5.2.4.2). In the cases of Ariadne and Pallene, he successfully consoles the beloved girl (47.453 and 48.203: παρηγορέων) for her loss (of respectively a lover and a father) by offering marriage and emphasizing his own qualities in comparison to, respectively, Theseus and Sithon (47.428–452 and 48.205–233).

Less successful are the lovers of the poem's four most prominent παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι: Nicaea, Chalcomede, Beroe and Aura.[3] Not only in the case of Beroe is the communication between lover and beloved problematic:

(1) The huntress Nicaea is at first the object of love of cowherd Hymnus (book 15). He follows her around, but only speaks out his love in her absence (15.258–286 and 298–302), meanwhile blaming himself for his cowardly silence towards her (15.288–289). Nicaea, however, reacts unfavourably when he plays a nuptial song on his syrinx (speech by Nicaea: 15.306–311), threatening him with bow and arrow, after which Hymnus finally addresses her (15.316–362). However, he misjudges her character (15.314: μὴ νοέων, ὅτι τόσσον ἔην ἄστοργος Ἀμαζών) and his passionate plea to her, if she cannot love him, to kill him and mourn him afterwards is answered with a merciless shot of the uncompassionate huntress before he has even finished speaking (369: μῦθον ἔτι προχέοντα). When Dionysus falls in love with Nicaea afterwards, he is no more successful in winning her favour. He expresses his love in two elaborate speeches, again in the absence of Nicaea (16.21–70 and 75–143). In her presence, he only manages to shout out four words (145: μένε, παρθένε, Βάκχον ἀκοίτην),[4] which, moreover, immediately make Nicaea angry. She threatens him with a proud reference to her treatment of Hymnus (speech by Nicaea: 16.148–182), but does not physically attack him. Dionysus pro-

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"The Rhetoric of Seduction" discusses courting strategies from Homer (on Zeus and Hera and Odysseus and Nausicaa) up to Ovid (on Apollo and Daphne in the *Metamorphoses*).

3 D'Ippolito 1969, 86–114 and Hernández de la Fuente 2008, 86–116 use the term in order to discuss the stories of Nicaea, Chalcomede, Beroe and Aura as a group. The word φυγόδεμνος is a neologism introduced by Nonnus. In the *Paraphrase*, the adjective is used once, to describe the Virgin Mary, whereas in the *Dionysiaca* it is used to describe Artemis (3), Athena (2), Aura, Britomartis, Chalcomede, Echo, a Hamadryad, Nicaea (2), Philomela, Pitys and Thetis. Her unwillingness to marry is also an important trait of Beroe's character (cf. 42.432: ἔργα γάμου στυγέουσα), but she is never actually described with this adjective.

4 This is one of the shortest speeches in the *Dionysiaca*. Only three speeches are less than a line long (also 13.485: two words, and 16.291: three words).

nounces a third elegiac soliloquy in 16.191–227 (to his dog) and only "succeeds" in making Nicaea his bride by raping her when she lies asleep after she has drunk from the lake that has been metamorphosed into wine.

(2) The story of Morrheus and Chalcomede is different in many ways. Chalcomede, supported by the knowledge that her virginity is protected by a guardian snake (prophecy of Thetis: 33.351–382), flirts with the enamoured Morrheus on the battlefield in order to protect her fellow combatants from his sword. The misguided Morrheus, blinded by love, optimistically interprets everything Chalcomede does and says as a sign of love. At their first encounter, Chalcomede tells him the story of Apollo and Daphne (33.209–215 indirect speech), which makes Morrheus, at first, mad with joy (33.216: ἀνεπάλλετο χάρματι), although he also reflects on the consequences of the story for his own chances with Chalcomede—what if she too is φιλοπάρθενος, like Daphne (33.221–222)? When, on a later occasion, she hits his shield in battle with a stone and in this way damages the picture of his wife on its surface, a deliriously happy Morrheus congratulates her on her success and expresses the wish she would not only attack his wife's picture but actually kill his wife, who is still an obstacle to their love (34.292–296). And finally, in book 35, Morrheus is persuaded by a wily Chalcomede (speech: 35.111–138) to strip, disarm and take a bath in preparation of their "marriage", which leads to his double defeat and renders him unsuccessful in both war and love.

Of the three speeches by Morrheus directly addressing Chalcomede, it is twice not clear whether she is still listening because she is meanwhile running away (34.292–296 and 316–337), and thus leading him in pursuit away from the battlefield. The third (35.141–154) does not have the aim of seducing but is rather a reaction to Chalcomede's persuasive request.

(3) Finally, in the Aura episode, there is no communication between the lovers at all. Dionysus merely utters a soliloquy (48.489–513) and complains about the impossibility of seducing Aura, whom he considers to be even more difficult to approach than Artemis or Athena (48.510–511: μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίη τάχα πείσεται· οὐδέ με φεύγει | Ἄρτεμις ἀπτοίητος, ὅσον φιλοπάρθενος Αὔρη). He therefore does not even try, but when he finds her in her drunken sleep, he first cautiously binds and disarms her before raping her (48.621–632).[5]

5 See also Lightfoot 1998 on this episode.

6.2 Beirut and Beroe

Dionysus' encounters with Nicaea and Aura mark an important step on his path to Olympus because they result in the birth of, first, his daughter Telete (16.395–402) and, finally, his son Iacchus (48.943–968).[6] Morrheus' love for Chalcomede is a decisive factor in the story of the Indian War, protecting the Bacchic troops during Dionysus' absence. The love story of Dionysus and Beroe, by contrast, could be regarded as a narrative detour without any concrete consequences for the story of Dionysus. The position (immediately before and after the Indian War), length (three books) and content (love, prophecy, consolation by Eros) of the Beroe episode also implicitly connect Beroe's story to that of Ampelus in books 10–12.[7] Ampelus is Dionysus' first love and his death and subsequent metamorphosis into the first vine (ἄμπελος) result in the invention of wine. It needs no argument to claim that this is a turning point in Nonnus' epic, whereas Beroe's story has no further implications and is afterwards only casually referred to (once in 48.469).

In books 41–43, on his journey home from India after the Indian War, the young god sojourns in Beroe or Berytus (Beirut), the birth place of Beroe, the city's eponymous Nymph.[8] The otherwise light-hearted love-story which takes place here is given extra weight within the *Dionysiaca* by the length of the episode and the presence of a couple of significant elements: an unexpected invocation to the Muses (41.10–13)[9] and a grand prophecy, one of Francis Vian's four "cosmic preludes" (41.339–367).[10] Its effect is probably best described in

6 See also Vian 1994b and Hadjittofi 2008 on the structural importance of these two amorous episodes.

7 See also Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 6–7 on the reminiscences created here and elsewhere between the episodes in books 40–48 and those in the first half of the poem. The parallels between the two episodes were already noticed by Collart (1930, 59), who explained them as part of his model of the *Dionysiaca*'s overall circular composition. More recently, Zuenelli (2016a forthcomming) followed in Collart footsteps and laid bare a few additional parallels.

8 See also Miguélez Cavero 2013a, 374–376 on Beroe as the personification of the city of Beirut.

9 Compare also 42.42–44: a (mock-epic?) invocation to the Mountain Nymphs to give the narrator information on Dionysus' amorous quest. See also Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 55 n. 1.

10 Cf. Vian 1993, 39–52. Vian counts four "préludes cosmiques" in the *Dionysiaca*, namely in 6.15–108, 7.1–109 and 11.485–412.117 and 41.339–367. The three other "cosmic prophecies" all concern the fate of Dionysus/Zagreus.

the words of Pierre Chuvin and Marie-Christine Fayant (2006, 4): “Cela crée un contraste curieux entre la futilité apparente du thème et l’ampleur qui est donnée à sa présentation.”

There is no other episode in the *Dionysiaca* in which the location of the action receives so much attention. Only one other city, Tyre (book 40), is praised and/or described to any extent. By subtly comparing the cities and inserting a prediction of Beirut’s glory under the Roman Empire (41.389–398), a rare reference to contemporary history, Nonnus clearly seems to favour Beirut above Tyre.[11]

If the entire Beroe episode remains without clear consequences for the story of Dionysus as a whole, so also does the story of Dionysus’ and Poseidon’s attempts to seduce Beroe (book 42) within the frame of the Beroe episode itself. The larger part of the book consists of Dionysus’ fruitless attempts at seduction. Poseidon, who is equally in love with Beroe, cedes the ground to Dionysus in lines 55–59—without apparent motivation—and reappears only when Dionysus gives up in line 439. This artificial turn-taking of the two lovers is a good indication of the static character of the major part of this book, which is described by Chuvin and Fayant (2006, 51) as “the result of a purely literary elaboration”.

> [I]l semble le résultat d’une libre élaboration, purement littéraire. On pourrait très facilement enchaîner les derniers vers du ch. 41 […] aux derniers vers de ce ch. 42 […]. Le ch. 42 apparaît donc de prime abord comme une sorte de récréation que se donne Nonnos, alliant, comme souvent dans son poème, un grand raffinement dans le jeu des références et des rappels, et des brusqueries qui ont pu donner corps à l’idée d’un certain inachèvement de l’œuvre.

As both lovers equally fail to seduce Beroe, the status quo is, indeed, maintained until Aphrodite reappears (42.497–530) and organizes a battle for the hand of her daughter, which takes place in book 43.

11 There is another prediction of Roman glory in 3.199. Cf. Chuvin 1991, 23–26 and Liebeschuetz 2001, 231–237. On Beirut and Tyre in the *Dionysiaca*, see also Dostálova-Jeništova 1957b and Lauritzen 2012, 181–214.

6.3 Dionysus and Poseidon Courting Beroe: A Series of Amorous Approaches

The Beroe episode contains no less than five courting speeches, in each of which either Dionysus or Poseidon try to seduce Beroe with words. Dionysus addresses Beroe on four occasions (42.158–163, 282–312, 319–321 and 363–428). He also makes an earlier speech in the episode (42.114–123), also with an apostrophe to Beroe, which is not included in this analysis because it is a typical lover's complaint in absence of the beloved, who does not hear his words and cannot react. Poseidon only speaks to her once (42.459–485) and afterwards, in a short soliloquy (42.488–490), praises Adonis' luck as Beroe's father and Aphrodite's husband.

6.3.1 *Dionysus to Beroe (1)*

Right from the start, Dionysus' courting strategy is one involving ruse, as is made explicit long before his first speech to Beroe. He makes use of ruse to be able to observe Beroe from close by and even to touch her "by accident" (42.69: *ὡς ἀέκων*). See also 42.65: *καὶ* ***δολίην*** *Διόνυσος ἔχων ἀγέλαστον ὀπωπήν* and 128–129: *καὶ ἀκλινὲς ἀμφὶ προσώπῳ |* ***ψευδαλέον*** *μίμημα σαόφρονος ἔπλασεν αἰδοῦς*.

His first attempt to win the girl's heart with a speech (42.158–163) is likewise announced in the narrator's text as deceitful (42.157: *χέων ψευδήμονα φωνήν*). The speech is preceded by a long elaboration on Dionysus' fear of addressing her (42.138–156). The remarkably fast rhythm of the speech (with seven questions in four lines), can therefore, according to Chuvin and Fayant (2006, 60), be explained as an emotional outburst after he has finally overcome this initial timidity.

Ἄρτεμι, πῇ σέο τόξα; Τίς ἥρπασε σεῖο φαρέτρην;
Πῇ λίπες, ὃν φορέεις ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρι χιτῶνα;
Πῇ σέο κεῖνα πέδιλα, θοώτερα κυκλάδος αὔρης;
Πῇ χορὸς ἀμφιπόλων; Πῇ δίκτυα; Πῇ κύνες ἀργαί;
Οὐ δρόμον ἐντύνεις κεμαδοσσόον· οὐκ ἐθέλεις γάρ
ἀγρώσσειν, ὅθι Κύπρις Ἀδώνιδος ἐγγὺς ἰαύει.

Artemis, where are your arrows? Who has stolen your quiver? Where did you leave the tunic you wear, just covering the knees? Where are those boots quicker than the whirling wind? Where is your company in attendance? Where are your nets? Where your fleet hounds? You are not making ready for chase of the pricket, for you do not wish to hunt where Cypris is sleeping beside Adonis.

In this speech Dionysus addresses Beroe as Artemis and feigns surprise that this Artemis is not dressed in her usual attire and is missing her customary attributes.[12] Thus, in order to flatter her, Dionysus makes use of the well-known topos of the girl who is favourably mistaken for a goddess because of her beauty, just as Odysseus does when he first addresses Nausicaa (*Od.* 6.152–153, see also under 5.2.5). Without further elaboration, however, this elegant compliment can only function successfully as a courting strategy if the girl sees through the apparent mistake and realises its true purpose. But Beroe, "ignorant tout de la rhétorique des amants",[13] takes the mistake for real. She is proud of her beauty (166: αὐχένα γαῦρον ἄειρεν ἀγαλλομένη χάριν ἥβης) but unaware of Dionysus' true intentions (168: οὐδὲ δόλον γίνωσκε νοοπλανέος Διονύσου).

Her reaction is strikingly similar to that of Ampelus in 10.217–219, who, when Dionysus pretends to mistake him for a god (see also under 5.2.4.2), is equally flattered by his words.[14] But whereas in this case Dionysus' courting speech is successful (immediately afterwards they are described as inseparable companions; 10.219–225), in the case of Beroe, Dionysus is frustrated by her failure to understand his intentions (169: καὶ πλέον ἄχνυτο Βάκχος, ἐπεὶ πόθον οὐ μάθε κούρη).

6.3.2 *Dionysus to Beroe* (2)

At their next encounter, Beroe takes the initiative to open the conversation. When she asks him to reveal his identity, Dionysus finds inspiration in the idyllic gardens around them and pretends to be a gardener (42.280: οἷά τε γηπόνος ἀνήρ). This mask enables him to "propose" to her in vegetation metaphors (42.281: ἀμφὶ γάμου τινὰ μῦθον ἀσημάντῳ φάτο φωνῇ). Once more, the narrator draws attention to the "deceptive" nature of the speech (42.282–313) by referring to Dionysus' craftiness (42.280: ἤθεσι κερδαλέοισι), which also according

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12 Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 60 draw attention to the similarity of Dionysus' speech to Beroe and the narrator addressing the unnecessarily timid Dionysus a few lines earlier (139–142: Φιλεύιε, πῇ σέο θύρσοι | ἀνδροφόνοι; Πῇ φρικτὰ κεράατα; Πῇ σέο χαίτης | γλαυκὰ πεδοτρεφέων ὀφιώδεα δεσμὰ δρακόντων; | Πῇ στομάτων μύκημα βαρύβρομον; "God of jubilation, where is your manslaying thyrsus? Where your frightful horns? Where the green snaky ropes of earthfed serpents in your hair? Where is your heavy-booming bellow?"). "Le parallélisme entre les deux discours […] souligné par l'anaphore des interrogations par πῇ, est humoristique." See also under 5.2 on the identification of a deity by means of his/her attributes.

13 Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 60.

14 10.217–219: νέος δ' ἠγάλλετο μύθῳ | κυδιόων, ὅτι κάλλος ὑπέρβαλεν ἥλικος ἥβης | εἴδεϊ φαιδροτέρῳ "and the youth was delighted with his words, and proud that he surpassed the beauty of his young agemates by a more brilliant display."

to Pan (speech: 42.205–273), who acts as Dionysus' *magister amoris* in this episode, is a crucial factor for winning a girl's heart (cf. 42.208: ἀλλὰ πόθου δολίοιο πολύτροπον ἦθος ἐνίψω, 217: ἀπατήλιον, 223: ψευδαλέον and 227: ψευδήμονα).[15]

εἰμὶ τεοῦ Λιβάνοιο γεωμόρος· ἢν ἐθελήσῃς,
ἀρδεύω σέο γαῖαν, ἐγὼ σέο καρπὸν ἀέξω.—
Ὡράων πισύρων νοέω δρόμον· ἱσταμένην δὲ
νύσσαν ὀπιπεύων φθινοπωρίδα τοῦτο βοήσω·
Σκορπίος ἀντέλλει βιοτήσιος, ἔστι δὲ κῆρυξ
αὔλακος εὐκάρποιο· βόας ζεύξωμεν ἀρότρῳ.
Πληιάδες δύνουσι· πότε σπείρωμεν ἀρούρας;
Αὔλακες ὠδίνουσιν, ὅτε δρόσος εἰς χθόνα πίπτει
λουομένην Φαέθοντι.—καὶ Ἀρκάδος ἐγγὺς Ἀμάξης
χείματος ὀμβρήσαντος ἰδὼν Ἀρκτοῦρον ἐνίψω·
'Διψαλέη πότε γαῖα Διὸς νυμφεύεται ὄμβρῳ;'
εἴαρος ἀντέλλοντος ἑώιος εἰς σὲ βοήσω·
'Ἄνθεα σεῖο τέθηλε· πότε κρίνα καὶ ῥόδα τίλλω;'
Καὶ σταφυλὴν ὁρόων θέρεος παρεόντος ἐνίψω·
'Ἄμπελος ἡβώωσα πεπαίνεται ἄμμορος ἅρπης·
Παρθένε, σύγγονος ἦλθε· πότε τρυγόωμεν ὀπώρην;
Σὸς στάχυς ἠέξητο καὶ ἀμητοῖο χατίζει·
λήιον ἀμήσω σταχυηφόρον, ἀντὶ δὲ Δηοῦς
μητρὶ τεῇ ῥέξαιμι θαλύσια Κυπρογενείῃ.'—
Ἠνίδε, πῶς ὑάκινθος ἐπέτρεχε γείτονι μύρτῳ,
πῶς γελάᾳ νάρκισσος ἐπιθρῴσκων ἀνεμώνῃ.
Δέξο δὲ γειοπόνον με τεῆς ὑποεργὸν ἀλωῆς,
ὑμετέρης με κόμιζε φυτηκόμον Ἀφρογενείης,
ὄφρα φυτὸν πήξαιμι φερέσβιον, ἡμερίδων δὲ
ὄμφακα γινώσκω νεοθηλέα χερσὶν ἀφάσσων.

15 On Pan's role in this episode, see Villarrubia 1999 and Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 61–63. An aspect which has caused much discussion is that certain parts of Pan's advice have already been put into practice by Dionysus before Pan's speech (see Collart 1930, 238–240), especially the advice to adopt a serious expression (42.218 = 42.65: ἀγέλαστον ὀπωπήν), to feign wonder (42.223: ψευδαλέον σέο θάμβος ~ 42.164: θάμβος ἔχων ἀπατήλιον) and to compare the girl's beauty to that of a goddess (42.221–226 ~ Dionysus' first speech). I agree with Chuvin and Fayant that Dionysus' prior knowledge of certain elements in Pan's advice does not necessarily problematize the sequence of events in this book.

Οἶδα, πόθεν ποτὲ μῆλα πεπαίνεται· οἶδα φυτεῦσαι
καὶ πτελέην τανύφυλλον ἐρειδομένην κυπαρίσσῳ·
ἄρσενα καὶ φοίνικα γεγηθότα θήλεϊ μίσγω,
καὶ κρόκον, ἢν ἐθέλῃς, παρὰ μίλακι καλὸν ἀέξω.—
Μή μοι χρυσὸν ἄγῃς κομιδῆς χάριν· οὐ χρέος ὄλβου·
μισθὸν ἔχω δύο μῆλα, μιῆς ἕνα βότρυν ὀπώρης.

I am a countryman of your Lebanon. If it is your pleasure, I will water your land, I will grow your corn. I understand the course of the four Seasons. When I see the limit of autumn is here, I will call aloud—'Scorpion is rising with his bounteous plenty, he is the herald of a fruitful furrow, let us yoke oxen to the plow. The Pleiads are setting: when shall we sow the fields? The furrows are teeming, when the dew falls on land parched by Phaëthon.' And in the showers of winter when I see Arcturos close to the Arcadian wain, I will exclaim—'At least thirsty Earth is wedded with the showers of Zeus.' As the spring rises up, I will cry out in the morning—'Your flowers are blooming, when shall I pluck lilies and roses?' And when I see the grapes of summer before me I will cry—'The vine is in her prime, ripening without the sickle: Maiden your sister has come—when shall we gather the grapes? Your wheatear is grown big and wants the harvest; I will reap the crop of corn-ears, and I will celebrate harvest home for your mother the Cyprus-born instead of Deo.' Just look how the iris has run over the neigbouring myrtle, how narcissus laughs as he leaps on anemone! Accept me as your labourer to help on your fertile lands. Take me as planter for your Foam-born, that I may plant that lifebringing tree, that I may detect the half-ripe berry of the tame vine and feel the newgrowing bud. I know how apples ripen; I know how to plant the widespreading elm too, leaning against the cypress. I can join the male palm happily with the female, and make pretty saffron, if you like, grow beside bindweed. Don't offer me gold for my keep, I have no need of wealth—my wages will be two apples and one bunch of grapes of one vintage.

In this speech of 31 lines, Dionysus, under the false pretence of explaining his suitability as candidate-gardener of her beloved homeland, makes one sexual innuendo after another. He discusses the tasks of the gardener in each season (283–300) with suggestive use of agricultural terminology (especially with regard to the actions of ploughing, irrigating, the picking of flowers and the harvesting of the fruits). He also emphasizes the harmonious relationships (as if amorous) between the plants (301–310) and negotiates about his wage

as a gardener in Beroe's service by asking her to pay in kind "two apples and one bunch of grapes"—common metaphors for breasts (the apples) and defloration (ὀπώρη as a metaphor for ripe virginity).[16]

As has been noticed by Daria Gigli Piccardi (1978, 439–440) and others, there is a striking similarity between this passage and the garden scene in Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (1.17–19), where Cleitophon addresses to his friend Satyrus an elaborate monologue about the love of animals and plants in the hope that his beloved Leucippe will overhear it and understand the suggestion. What in the case of Cleitophon, however, seems to be a successful strategy,[17] does not work for Dionysus. Beroe understands none of the erotic metaphors, which makes Dionysus' second approach as futile as his first (313–314: τοῖα μάτην ἀγόρευε, καὶ οὐκ ἠμείβετο κούρη | Βάκχου μὴ νοέουσα γυναιμανέος στίχα μύθων).

6.3.3 *Dionysus to Beroe (3)*

The third speech, again a very short one, follows quickly after the second and is announced by the narrator as Dionysus' next scheme (42.315: ἀλλὰ δόλῳ δόλον ἄλλον ἐπέρραφεν Εἰραφιώτης). For the second time, Dionysus speaks to Beroe with faked surprise (cf. also Pan's advice in 42.223: ψευδαλέον σέο θάμβος). This time he feigns amazement at the weaponry of her father Adonis, which—so he claims—reveals the workmanship of the gods (42.319–321).

> Τίς θεὸς ἔντεα ταῦτα, τίς οὐρανίη κάμε τέχνη;
> Τίς κάμε; Καὶ γὰρ ἄπιστον ἔχω νόον, ὅττι τελέσσοι
> ζηλομανὴς Ἥφαιστος Ἀδώνιδι τεύχεα θήρης.

> What god made this gear, what heavenly art? Who made it? Indeed I cannot believe that Hephaistos mad with jealousy made hunting-gear for Adonis!

As observed by Chuvin and Fayant (2006, 64), Dionysus subtly uses the subject of the weaponry to bring the conversation around once again to the love of

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16 For an explanation of the innuendos in this speech, see also the commentary ad loc. of Chuvin and Fayant (2006) and Accorinti (2004) and the discussion of agricultural sexual metaphors in Gigli Piccardi 1978 (21–29), which is for the most part based on this passage.

17 Cleitophon watches the reactions of Leucippe and interprets them as positive (19.1: ἡ δὲ ὑπεσήμαινεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἀκούειν). After she has left the garden, Satyrus and Cleitophon even congratulate themselves on the successful scheme (19.3: ἑαυτοὺς οὖν ἐπῃνοῦμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ Σάτυρος).

Aphrodite and Adonis, as he also did at the end of his first speech (42.163: ὅθι Κύπρις Ἀδώνιδος ἐγγὺς ἰαύει; see also Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 60), in the hope that Beroe may take her parents as an example. This time, Beroe's reaction is not as elaborately commented upon by the narrator. She is simply described as "a girl that is not easily charmed" (42.322: ἀκηλήτοιο [...] κούρης).

6.3.4 *Dionysus to Beroe* (*4*)

Finally, in order to assure himself of a fourth opportunity to speak to Beroe, Dionysus goes hunting with her father Adonis (42.346–347).[18] Now, for the first time, Beroe seems to (start to) understand his intentions for she reacts to his gaze by covering her face when he looks at her (42.349–351). When they are alone, he approaches her again, this time without faking surprise or hiding behind metaphors but with a long and varied (42.362: ποικιλόμυθον) monologue, also revealing himself for the first time as a god (42.357: καὶ ὡς θεὸς ἵστατο κούρῃ).

Παρθένε, σὸν δι' ἔρωτα καὶ οὐρανὸν οὐκέτι ναίω·
σῶν πατέρων σπήλυγγες ἀρείονές εἰσιν Ὀλύμπου·
365 πατρίδα σὴν φιλέω πλέον αἰθέρος· οὐ μενεαίνω
σκῆπτρα Διὸς γενετῆρος ὅσον Βερόης ὑμεναίους·
ἀμβροσίης σέο κάλλος ὑπέρτερον· αἰθερίου δέ
νέκταρος εὐόδμοιο τεοὶ πνείουσι χιτῶνες.—
Παρθένε, θάμβος ἔχω σέο μητέρα Κύπριν ἀκούων,
370 ὅττι σε κεστὸς ἔλειπεν ἀθελγέα· πῶς δὲ σὺ μούνη
371 σύγγονον εἶχες Ἔρωτα καὶ οὐ μάθες οἶστρον ἐρώτων;
374 Ἀλλ' ἐρέεις Γλαυκῶπιν ἀπειρήτην ὑμεναίων·
375 νόσφι γάμου βλάστησε καὶ οὐ γάμον οἶδεν Ἀθήνη·
372 οὔ σε τέκε Γλαυκῶπις ἢ Ἄρτεμις. Ἀλλὰ σύ, κούρη,
373 Κύπριδος αἷμα φέρουσα τί Κύπριδος ὄργια φεύγεις;
376 Μὴ γένος αἰσχύνῃς μητρώιον· Ἀσσυρίου δέ
εἰ ἐτεὸν χαρίεντος Ἀδώνιδος αἷμα κομίζεις,
ἁβρὰ τελεσσιγάμοιο διδάσκεο θεσμὰ τοκῆος,
καὶ Παφίης ζωστῆρι συνήλικι πείθεο κεστῷ.—
380 Καὶ γαμίων πεφύλαξο δυσάντεα μῆνιν Ἐρώτων·
Νηλέες εἰσὶν Ἔρωτες, ὅτε χρέος, ὁππότε ποινήν
ἀπρήκτου φιλότητος ἀπαιτίζουσι γυναῖκας·
Οἶσθα γάρ, ὡς πυρόεσσαν ἀτιμήσασα φαρέτρην

18 He has already pretended to be a friend and fellow hunter of Adonis in 42.65–67.

Μισθὸν ἀγηνορίης φιλοπάρθενος ὤπασε Σύριγξ,
ὅττι φυτὸν γεγαυῖα νόθῃ δονακώδεϊ μορφῇ
ἔκφυγε Πανὸς ἔρωτα, πόθους δ' ἔτι Πανὸς ἀείδει·
καὶ θυγάτηρ Λάδωνος, ἀειδομένου ποταμοῖο,
ἔργα γάμων στυγέουσα δέμας δενδρώσατο Νύμφη,
ἔμπνοα συρίζουσα, καὶ ὀμφήεντι κορύμβῳ
Φοίβου λέκτρα φυγοῦσα κόμην ἐστέψατο Φοίβου.
Καὶ σὺ χόλον δασπλῆτα φυλάσσεο, μή σε χαλέψῃ
θερμὸς Ἔρως βαρύμηνις· ἀφειδήσασα δὲ μίτρης
διπλόον ἄμφεπε Βάκχον ὀπάονα καὶ παρακοίτην·
καὶ λίνα σεῖο τοκῆος Ἀδώνιδος αὐτὸς ἀείρων
λέκτρον ἐγὼ στορέσοιμι κασιγνήτης Ἀφροδίτης.—
Ποῖά σοι Ἐννοσίγαιος ἐπάξια δῶρα κομίσσει;
Ἦ ῥά σοι ἕδνα γάμοιο δεδείξεται ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
καὶ στορέσει πνείοντα δυσώδεα πόντιον ὀδμήν
δέρματα φωκάων, Ποσιδήια πέπλα θαλάσσης;
Δέρματα φωκάων μὴ δέχνυσο· σεῖο δὲ παστῷ
Βάκχας ἀμφιπόλους, Σατύρους θεράποντας ὀπάσσω·
Δέξο μοι ἕδνα γάμοιο καὶ ἀμπελόεσσαν ὀπώρην·
εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις δόρυ θοῦρον, Ἀδώνιδος οἷά τε κούρη,
θύρσον ἔχεις ἐμὸν ἔγχος· ἔα γλωχῖνα τριαίνης.—
Φεῦγε, φίλη, βαρὺν ἦχον ἀσιγήτοιο θαλάσσης,
φεῦγε δυσαντήτων Ποσιδήιον οἶστρον ἐρώτων.
Ἄλλῃ Ἀμυμώνῃ παρελέξατο Κυανοχαίτης,
ἀλλὰ γυνὴ μετὰ λέκτρον ὁμώνυμος ἔπλετο πηγή·
καὶ Σκύλλῃ παρίαυε καὶ εἰναλίην θέτο πέτρην·
Ἀστερίην δ' ἐδίωκε, καὶ ἔπλετο νῆσος ἐρήμη·
παρθενικὴν δ' Εὔβοιαν ἐνερρίζωσε θαλάσσῃ.
Οὗτος Ἀμυμώνην μνηστεύεται, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτήν
λαϊνέην τελέσῃ μετὰ δέμνιον· οὗτος ὀπάσσει
ἕδνον ἑῶν θαλάμων ὀλίγον ῥόον ἢ βρύον ἅλμης
ἢ βυθίην τινὰ κόχλον.—Ἐγὼ δέ σοι εἵνεκα μορφῆς
ἵσταμαι ἀσχαλόων, τίνα σοι, τίνα δῶρα κομίσσω;
Οὐ χατέει χρυσοῖο τέκος χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης.
Ἀλλά σοι ἐξ Ἀλύβης κειμήλια πολλὰ κομίσσω·
Ἄργυρον ἀργυρόπηχυς ἀναίνεται. Εἰς σὲ κομίσσω
δῶρα διαστίλβοντα φεραυγέος Ἠριδανοῖο;
Ἡλιάδων ὅλον ὄλβον ἐπαισχύνει σέο μορφή
λευκὸν ἐρευθιόωσα, βολαῖς δ' ἀντίρροπος Ἠοῦς
εἴκελος ἠλέκτρῳ Βερόης ἀμαρύσσεται αὐχήν.

Καὶ λίθον ἀστράπτοντα; Τεοῦ χροὸς εἶδος ἐλέγχει
μάρμαρα τιμήεντα· Μὴ εἴκελον αἴθοπι λύχνῳ
λυχνίδα σοι κομίσοιμι· σέλας πέμπουσιν ὀπωπαί·
μὴ καλύκων ῥοδόεντος ἀναΐσσοντα κορύμβου
σοὶ ῥόδα δῶρα φέροιμι, ῥοδώπιδές εἰσι παρειαί.

Maiden, for your love I have even renounced my home in heaven. The caves of your fathers are better than Olympos. I love your country more than the sky; I desire not the sceptre of my Father Zeus as much as Beroë for my wife. Your beauty is above ambrosia; indeed, heavenly nectar breathes fragrant from your dress! Maiden, when I hear that your mother is Cypris, my only wonder is that her cestus has left you uncharmed. How is it you alone have Love for a brother, and yet know not the sting of love? But you will say Brighteyes had nothing to do with marriage; Athena was born without wedlock and knows nothing of wedlock. Yes, but your mother was neither Brighteyes nor Artemis. Well, girl, you have the blood of Cypris—then why do you flee from the secrets of Cypris? Do not shame your mother's race. If you really have in you the blood of Assyrian Adonis the charming, learn the tender rules of your sire whose blessing is upon marriage, obey the cestus girdle born with the Paphian, save yourself from the dangerous wrath of the bridal Loves! Harsh are the Loves when there's need, when they exact from women the penalty for love unfulfilled.

For you know how Syrinx disregarded the fiery quiver, and what price she paid for her too-great pride and love for virginity; how she turned into a plant with reedy growth substituted for her own, when she had fled from Pan's love, and how she still sings Pan's desire! And how the daughter of Ladon, that celebrated river, hated the works of marriage and the nymph became a tree with inspired whispers, she escaped the bed of Phoibus but she crowned his hair with prophetic clusters. You too should beware of a god's horrid anger, lest hot Love should afflict you in heavy wrath. Spare not your girdle, but attend Bacchos both as comrade and bedfellow. I myself will carry the nets of your father Adonis, I will lay the bed of my sister Aphrodite.

What worthy gifts will Earthshaker bring? Will he choose his salt water for a bridegift, and lay sealskins breathing the filthy stink of the deep, as Poseidon's coverlets from the sea? Do not accept his sealskins. I will provide you with Bacchants to wait upon your bridechamber, and Satyrs for your chamberlains. Accept from me as bridegift my grape-vintage too. If you want a wild spear also as daughter of Adonis, you have my thyrsus for a lance—away with the trident's tooth! Flee, my dear, from the ugly

> noise of the neversilent sea, flee the madness of Poseidon's dangerous love! Seabluehair lay beside another Amymone, but after the bed the wife became a spring of that name. He slept with Scylla, and made her a cliff in the water. He pursued Asteriё, and she became a desert island; Euboia the maiden he rooted in the sea. This creature woos Amymone just to turn her too into stone after the bed; this creature offers as gift for his wedding a drop of water, or seaweed from the brine or a deepsea conch. And I, distressed for your beauty as I stand here, what have I for you, what gifts shall I offer? The daughter of golden Aphrodite needs no gold. Shall I bring you heaps of treasure from Alybe? Silverarm cares not for silver! Shall I bring you gleaming gifts from brilliant Eridanos? Your beauty, your blushing whiteness, puts to shame all the wealth of the Heliades; the neck of Beroё is like the gleams of Dawn, it shines like amber. And a sparkling jewel? Your fair shape makes precious marble cheap. I would not bring you the lampstone blazing like a lamp, for light comes from your eyes. I would not give you roses, shooting up from the flowercups of a rosy cluster, for roses are in your cheeks.

Thus in this last speech to Beroe (42.363–428), Dionysus makes his intentions explicit. He immediately reveals his love (363: σὸν δι' ἔρωτα) and makes a substantiated proposal, using for the first time a rhetorically based line of argumentation. He starts with a *captatio benevolentiae*, stressing his willingness to give up his privileges as a young god on her behalf (363–368). Subsequently, he gives four main arguments for his case.

(1) Since Beroe is Aphrodite's and Adonis' daughter, she should accept love (366–379). This first argument is reinforced by anticipating hypothetical counter-arguments, using the rhetorical formula ἀλλ' ἐρέεις (374: on the figure of procatalepsis, see also under 3.2.3). This argument makes explicit the implicit argument of Aphrodite's and Adonis' love as an exemplum in two of his earlier speeches.

(2) Moreover, by refusing love, Beroe runs the risk of being punished by the vengeful Erotes (380–392). This second argument is reinforced by a couple of mythological exempla (383–390: exempla of Syrinx and Daphne).

(3) As an alternative to the pitiable fate of Syrinx and Daphne, Dionysus subsequently proposes marriage (392–395) and stresses his submissive role as ὀπάων (393), carrying Adonis' weapons and making Aphrodite's bed.

(4) After having thus also reminded her subtly of his family ties with her mother (395: κασιγνήτης Ἀφροδίτης), he introduces a syncrisis of himself

> and Poseidon (396–428) and all they have to offer to their bride, each time offering a more appropriate alternative (400–404: Bacchantes and Satyrs as servants, the thyrsus, the grape) for the hypothetical gifts of Poseidon (397–400, 404–405: salty water and seal skins, the trident, the clamorous sea) and as a final stroke he also warns her of Poseidon's reputation as a lover (with reference to the pitiable exempla of Amymone, Scylla, Asteria and Euboea).

Finally, the speech is concluded with a sophisticated compliment on Beroe's beauty. Elaborating on the idea of gift-giving introduced in the syncrisis, Dionysus alludes to one hypothetical gift after another, all precious metals and gems, only to conclude that each one would pale before her beauty (396–428)—a strategy which may well reflect the advice of Pan in 228–230 that girls prefer compliments to gifts.

Beroe, however, cannot be convinced. She even refuses to listen. We are informed by the narrator (42.429–432) that she ostentatiously covers her ears in order to protect herself from hearing these words of love.[19] This rather unexpected image forms a (humorous) anti-climax after the elaborate but—as it turns out—entirely fruitless speech.

6.3.5 *Poseidon to Beroe*

After Beroe's disappointing reaction, Dionysus gives up courting her and Poseidon now takes his chance to approach her. I will not analyse his speech of proposal (42.438–485) in full. Thematically, it corresponds to the final, sincere speech of Dionysus: just like Dionysus, he praises Beroe's beauty (459–467) and compares his gifts to her with those of Dionysus (475–485). Poseidon also emphasizes Beroe's affinity with the sea (through Aphrodite, 469–469) and promises her royal status as queen of the sea and equal of Hera if she chooses to marry him (470–474). Beroe's reaction is only briefly described as one of anger (42.486: χωομένην). After this, Poseidon gives up as well and the competition for the hand of Beroe is left unresolved.

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19 42.429–432: καὶ οὔατος ἔνδοθι κούρη | χεῖρας ἐρεισαμένη διδύμας ἔφραξεν ἀκουάς, | μὴ πάλιν ἄλλον ἔρωτι μεμηλότα μῦθον ἀκούσῃ, | ἔργα γάμου στυγέουσα· "and the girl pressed the fingers of her two hands into her ears to keep the words away from her hearing, lest she might hear again another speech concerned with love, and she hated the works of marriage."

6.4 Fruitless Metaphors and Arguments Unheard

The single speech of Poseidon to Beroe stands in contrast with the set of four by Dionysus. As pointed out in my overview, three out of four of Dionysus' speeches are marked by the narrator as deceitful and/or obscure (42.157: ψευδήμονα φωνήν, 280: ἤθεσι κερδαλέοισι, 281: ἀσημάντῳ φωνῇ and 315: ἀλλὰ δόλῳ δόλον ἄλλον ἐπέρραφεν). Beroe does not understand them (42.168: οὐδὲ δόλον γίνωσκε and 314: μὴ νοέουσα). In the first two speeches, Dionysus uses imagery which is familiar to the reader from the literary tradition. The first image (a beautiful girl mistaken for a goddess) not only reminds us of *Odyssey* 6.152–153, but, especially in the novelistic tradition, has become a genuine topos.[20] Agricultural images as erotic metaphors are common in Greek poetry from the archaic period onwards (ex. Thgn. 1.582), while horticultural images are also important in the Greek novel,[21] a genre with which, as others have demonstrated, Nonnus shows clear affinities in this episode.[22]

The reader is warned by the narrator's comments that Dionysus' words have a hidden meaning and will probably think of parallel uses of these images and metaphors. That Beroe, the addressee of these speeches, does not see through them will consequently be experienced as a kind of dramatic irony. Beroe only understands the literal meaning of Dionysus' words, just like Nicaea in book 15 also could not understand Hymnus' request κτεῖνέ με σῇ παλάμῃ, καὶ τέρπομαι· "kill me with your own hand and I will be happy" (15.317) in any way other than as an earnest request to kill him. The story of Beroe may, in fact, thematically recall that of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, in which ignorance of love is also a central theme. Unlike Daphnis and Chloe, however, Beroe does not lack factual knowledge of love—experiencing it but not knowing what it is (*D&C* 1.13) or how to quench their passion (*D&C* 3.14)—but rather a literary knowledge of imagery, which has an equally humorous effect. And secondly, unlike Chloe, when Beroe has finally understood Dionysus' intentions, she does not welcome the idea of love, but quite literally shuts her ears to it.

Especially in comparison to the other stories of παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι in the *Dionysiaca*, this rejection of love comes very late. Beroe's initial naïve interpretation of Dionysus' ambiguous wordings may not result in success for our

20 Cf. Létoublon 1993, 122–124 in the chapter "Belle comme une déesse". See also above under chapter 5.2.

21 For the agricultural images, see Gigli Piccardi 1985, 21–28. For horticultural images, see Létoublon 1993, 65–69 in the chapter "L'espace topique du roman—Le jardin". See for example Longus 2.7 and the above discussion of Achilles Tatius 1.17–19 (under 6.3.2).

22 See esp. Gigli Piccardi 1978 and Villarrubia 1999.

desperate lover, but nevertheless postpones the rejection and gives him the opportunity to approach her several times.[23] In consequence, this also enables Nonnus to entertain his readers with variations on the topic of courting strategies, which fits in neatly with his general tendency to accumulate variations to elaborate a certain topos. It is an integral part of what is usually understood as his poetic principle of ποικιλία. The question may, however, also be raised as to whether Beroe's singular reactions to the speeches should be interpreted only in correlation with this process of *variatio*.

In my opinion, the aim to accumulate variants can only be part of the explanation. The effect of dramatic irony in this passage is also a crucial element. Beroe's inability to see through Dionysus' imagery in his first three speeches makes the passage significant on a meta-literary level.[24] The imagery that Dionysus uses belongs to the amatory genres of classical literature (love poetry and the Greek novel). Also in other passages of book 42, when a lovesick Dionysus roams through the forest alone or receives instructions from Pan on how to approach a girl,[25] Nonnus (often creatively) uses amatory topoi.[26] Only the naïve and innocent Beroe (42.171: νήπιον ἦθος ἔχουσα and 275: νηπιάχοισιν ἐν ἤθεσιν) does not seem to belong to this specific literary landscape.

Her characterization as a natural beauty averse to coquetry (explicitly so in lines 74–83) already indicates the difference between Beroe, who blocks her ears to the words of love, on the one hand, and on the other the kind of girl, described by Pan (42.208–216), on whom Dionysus' tricks would have the

23 See also Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 66: "Si Dionysos épuise toutes ses ressources en matière de séduction, le poète, lui, déploie toutes les facettes de son talent de narrateur pour conter, sans lasser le lecteur, les tentatives successives de son héros", and earlier Kost 1971, 28: "Er will keine Entwicklung, sondern das unermüdliche Bemühen des werbenden Dionysos vor Augen führen. Immer wieder wird von vorn begonnen, immer wieder folgt Bakchos dem Mädchen, entzückt sich an ihren Reizen, redet sie an; so könnte es unbegrenzt weitergehen."

24 Cf. Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 55: "Le poète joue sur l'attente du lecteur, toujours déçue. [...] jeu littéraire d'un poète qui veut prouver sa virtuosité sur le thème du séducteur malchanceux, jeu aussi du narrateur sur ses personnages qu'il présente avec humour. L'accumulation des échecs frôle le comique de répétition."

25 The role of Pan as a *magister amoris* especially calls to mind that of Clinias in Achilles Tatius' novel. See Gigli Piccardi 1978, 433–446 and Villarrubia 1999, 365–376.

26 Dionysus, for example, kisses Beroe's footsteps (42.71–73) and drinks water (42.89–97) from the same source as she did. In both cases, Nonnus alludes to the typical lovers' attempts to touch the beloved through the objects she has touched before. See Gigli Piccardi 1978, 433–446, Accorinti 2004, ad loc. and Chuvin and Fayant 2006 ad loc. See also Létoublon 1993, 154–155, in the chapter "Les 'idiomes rituelles' des amoureux".

intended effect.[27] It is as if Dionysus speaks in a literary code that she has not mastered. Precisely by problematizing its use in front of an uninitiated girl, Nonnus seems to draw attention to the conventions of literary code, and hereby to appeal to the literary background of his readers. With dramatic irony, he creates a contrast between the knowledge of the reading public of πεπαιδευμένοι (who of course fully understand each metaphor) and the ignorance of Beroe, as a knowing wink of the poet to his readers.

Dionysus would then, logically, be interpreted as the πεπαιδευμένος in our story. However, the failure of his wit also seems to show the limits of his παιδεία. Just like Hymnus in book 15 (15.314: μὴ νοέων, ὅτι τόσσον ἔην ἄστοργος Ἀμαζών), he seems to have gravely misjudged the character of his beloved, as is apparent from his maladjusted behaviour towards her. Can he really earn the title of πεπαιδευμένος when he fails to recognize Beroe (42.432: ἔργα γάμου στυγέουσα)[28] as a second Artemis averse to marriage[29] and tries to seduce her precisely by complimenting her on her resemblance to this virgin goddess?[30]

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27 Esp. 209–213: Πᾶσα γυνὴ ποθέει πλέον ἀνέρος, αἰδομένη δέ | κεύθει κέντρον ἔρωτος ἐρωμανέουσα καὶ αὐτή, | καὶ μογέει πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ σπινθῆρες ἐρώτων | θερμότεροι γεγάασιν, ὅτε κρύπτουσι γυναῖκες | ἐνδόμυχον πραπίδεσσι πεπαρμένον ἰὸν ἐρώτων. "Every woman has greater desire than the man, but shamefast she hides the sting of love, though mad for love herself; and she suffers much more, since the sparks of love become hotter when women conceal in their bosoms the piercing arrow of love."

28 This formula is used only twice in the *Dionysiaca*: for Daphne in 42.388 by Dionysus (in his last speech to Beroe, describing Daphne as an admonitory exemplum) and here by the narrator for Beroe, immediately after Dionysus' speech. It could be interpreted as yet another instance of dramatic irony: the narrator uses the same wording to describe Beroe as Dionysus to describe one of the παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι.

29 Artemis' aversion to marriage is emphasized in the *Dionysiaca* by the epithets of φυγόδεμνος (3×) and φιλοπάρθενος (3×), namely on 36.59, 44.312, 48.440 (φυγόδεμνος) and 2.122, 46.335, 48.351 (φιλοπάρθενος).

30 As it turns out, at the start of the battle in book 43, Beroe does prefer Dionysus over Poseidon (43.12: καὶ πλέον ἤθελε Βάκχον), but this is explained by her fear of an underwater wedding rather than as the result of Dionysus' behaviour towards her.

Conclusion

One More Speech: Aura's Last Words

I would like to conclude with the final speech of the *Dionysiaca* (48.892–908). The honour of pronouncing these last words of direct speech goes to the fierce huntress Aura, who has been raped by Dionysus and has become the reluctant mother of his twin sons. When Aura utters this desperate soliloquy, Dionysus has already prophesied to Nicaea that Aura will kill one of her sons, but that Iacchus, the third Dionysus, will be saved (48.883–885). Aura's monologue serves as an introduction to the final scene of the *Dionysiaca*, in which this gruesome prophecy will be fulfilled.

Ἠερόθεν γάμος οὗτος· ἐμὸν γόνον **ἠέρι** ῥίψω·
νυμφεύθην **ἀνέμοισι** καὶ οὐ βροτέην ἴδον εὐνήν,
Αὔρης δ' εἰς ὑμέναιον ἐπώνυμοι ἤλυθον **αὖραι**·
καὶ λοχίας ἐχέτωσαν ἐμὰς ὠδῖνας **ἀῆται**.
Ἔρρετέ μοι, ***νέα τέκνα*** δολορραφέος γενετῆρος,
ὑμέας οὐκ ἐλόχευσα· τί μοι κακὰ θηλυτεράων;
Ἀμφαδὸν ἄρτι, ***λέοντες***, ἐλεύθεροι εἰς νομὸν ὕλης
ἔλθετε θαρσήεντες, ὅτ' οὐκέτι μάρναται Αὔρη·
καὶ σκυλάκων ἑλίκωπες ἀρείονές ***ἔστε λαγωοί***·
θῶες ἐμοί, ***τέρπεσθε*** παρ' ἡμετέρῃ δὲ χαμεύνῃ
πόρδαλιν ἀπτοίητον ἐπισκαίροντα νοήσω·
ἄξατε σύννομον ἄρκτον ἀταρβέα· παιδοτόκου γάρ
Αὔρης χαλκοχίτωνες ἐθηλύνθησαν ὀιστοί.
Αἰδέομαι μεθέπειν μετὰ παρθένον οὔνομα νύμφης,
μὴ βριαρὸν τεκέεσσιν ἐμόν ποτε μαζὸν ὀπάσσω,
μὴ παλάμῃ θλίψοιμι νόθον γάλα, μηδ' ἐνὶ λόχμαις
θηροφόνος γεγαυῖα γυνὴ φιλότεκνος ἀκούσω.

From the sky came this marriage—I will throw my offspring into the sky! I was wooed by the breezes, and I saw no mortal bed. Winds my namesakes came down to the marriage of the Windmaid, then let the breezes take the offspring of my womb. Away with you, children accursed of a treacherous father, you are none of mine—what have I to do with the sorrows of women? Show yourselves now, lions, come freely to forage in the woods; have no fear, for Aura is your enemy no more. Hares with your rolling eyes, you are better than hounds. Jackals, let me be your favourite; I

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> will watch the panther jumping fearless beside my bed. Bring your friend the bear without fear; for now that Aura has children her arrows in bronze armour have become womanish. I am ashamed to have the name of bride who once was virgin; lest I sometime offer my strong breast to babes, lest I press out the bastard milk with my hand, or be called tender mother in the woods where I slew wild beasts!

Although supposedly spoken by a desperate woman, the first four lines of her speech (892–895) do not show desperation, but instead sophisticated word-play, elaborating on Aura's telling name. I have marked the various references to "air", "wind" and "breeze" (αὔρα) in bold. The first and last lines of this opening section repeat the same wish to let her children be taken by the wind.

The central part of the soliloquy contains a series of apostrophes (***bold italic***): first to the babies, whom she approaches with ill-wishes (896: ἔρρετε); then to the wild animals she used to hunt (898–904), congratulating them on their good fortune now that she will no longer be a menace to them. The image of the now peaceful world of the animals recalls the effect Dionysus has on nature (cf. his arrival in India in 22.1–54). Aura refuses to be a mother (897: ὑμέας οὐκ ἐλόχευσα), but because she has become a mother anyway, she can no longer be a huntress either (904: ἐθηλύνθησαν ὀιστοί).

The speech ends with a series of rejections of her new state of motherhood. Whereas the name "Aura" in the first lines of her speech is foregrounded as especially suitable for her situation, she now rejects in horror the new names she will get as a bride (905: οὔνομα νύμφης) and a mother (908: γυνὴ φιλότεκνος ἀκούσω, see also under 3.1.2.3). Significant in this respect is also the introductory line to her speech (48.891), in which the narrator does not refer to her as "Aura" but as μήτηρ. Two lines earlier, she is also called "bride" (48.889: ὁπλοτέρης περὶ νύμφης) by the narrator (but in a passage focalized by Dionysus). On the first level of the narration, her worst fear has already been realized! This is another clear example of dramatic irony in Nonnus.

With Aura's speech as a point of departure, I would like to return to a number of observations made earlier. This soliloquy is one of many in the *Dionysiaca*. It is a speech of average length, spoken by the protagonist of the poem's final episode. Dionysus, paradoxically, does not play such a prominent role in what would be expected to be the grand finale of his journey to Olympus. Of all 21 speeches that are quoted in this episode, Aura is responsible for six, of which five are lonely soliloquies and one an offensive monologue to Artemis (which is the catalyst for the entire episode). She never engages in dialogue with other characters.

The fact that this final speech is a soliloquy of a woman about to kill (one of her) children, invites a comparison to Medea and her famous soliloquy in Euripides (*Medea* 1236–1250, cf. also Libanius *Prog*. 11.1). Aura, however, is not torn between contradictory feelings, like Medea, and there are no real psychological points of interest in her speech. Rather than realistically portraying a desperate woman, the erudition demonstrated in the "gioco polifonico" (Accorinti 2004, 731) in the first lines of the speech, elaborating on Aura's name, and the clear appeal to dramatic irony in the final lines draw attention to the artfulness of the speech.

Aura's actions, moreover, will not come as a surprise, either to Nonnus' audience, or to any of the characters involved, because Dionysus has already predicted the fate of his sons to Nicaea. Thus the speech does not announce anything that is not already known. Dionysus, who knows that one of his children is going to be killed by their mother, does not even wait to see what happens, but leaves the scene smilingly as soon as he has arranged for Iacchus to be saved by Nicaea.

In sum, the way the speech is embedded in the narrative is characteristic of Nonnus. The episode of Aura's infanticide and suicide consists of three separate tableaux, which are introduced and announced by two speeches: the one by Dionysus to Nicaea (48.870–886: predicting infanticide) and this one by Aura (48.892–909: announcing infanticide). After her speech, Aura first (tableau 1: 48.910–916) leaves the two babies to become the prey of lions, but the leopard and snakes protect and nurse them in a scene reminiscent of her earlier description of peaceful animal life (also featuring leopards and lions). Then, she decides to kill them herself, throws one of them up in the air and devours him brutally after his fall (tableau 2: 48.916–927). The references to "air" and "wind" here recall the word play in her speech, which already mentioned throwing the children in the air. The upward movement is described in line 919: ἠερίαις τ' ἀκίχητος ἀνηκόντιζεν ἀέλλαις. The downward movement in line 922: ἠερόθεν προκάρηνος ἐπωλίσθησεν ἀρούρῃ. Both lines, of only four words each, conspicuously play with recurring sounds that underline their circular composition. After that, she resorts to suicide (tableau 3: 928–942). Her motive (the disgrace of her married status, 929: μῶμον ἀλυσκάζουσα γαμήλιον) and the mention of her quiver, which, being in disuse, is thrown away (932: ἀκόμιστον [...] φαρέτρην), are again reminiscent of her earlier speech, in which she rejected both her new status as a wife and mother, and (by necessity) her former status as a virgin huntress.

Consequently, whereas the final speech of Aura is somewhat detached from the action, both by its position, its content (announcing something that is already known) and the absence of any psychological developments, the unity

of the episode is secured by the constant presence of intratextual echoes and reminiscences. Aura's speech, thus, seems to combine several of the characteristic features of Nonnus' use of direct speech described in this book.

Οὔ πω μῦθος ἔληγε: General Observations on Direct Speech in Nonnus

Analysing the final speech of the *Dionysiaca* in this "Conclusion", however, also implies the danger of creating false impressions, which I hope to be able to correct in this second part of my conclusion. Firstly, it may have created a false impression of completeness with regard to my treatment of the subject. But, if I may reuse a recurrent image in the *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus' characters *have not yet finished speaking*. The phrase οὔ πω μῦθος ἔληγε is a capping formula which only occurs in the *Dionysiaca* (no less than five times), indicating that, at the end of a speech, the speaking character would not have finished speaking if he or she had not been forced to silence, by fear, by a sudden death or by the immediate intervention of his or her interlocutor.[1] I would like to take it as a metaphor for all of the issues not discussed in this book because of the selections I constantly had to make.

Secondly, by choosing one speech to recapitulate some of my observations on the large body of 305 speeches of the *Dionysiaca*, I also risk creating a false impression of exemplarity or interchangeability. It may seem to suggest that any speech in the *Dionysiaca* reflects all the "general" characteristics of direct speech in this poem, but I certainly did not intend to falsely portray the *Dionysiaca* as a predictable and monolithic poem. Certainly, there are some recurrent features, but it is basically the enormous variety that makes the speeches in Nonnus such an interesting corpus to work with.

The Nonnian ποικιλία can be traced in all possible aspects of his composition, also with regard to speech, as I have tried to show. It is visible in his constant engagement with multiple traditions. While emphatically engaging in dialogue with his epic predecessors, Nonnus also regularly incorporates elements from other genres (bucolic, novelistic, even historiographic?) and, most importantly, from the rhetorical tradition. The oration-like character of his speeches helps to explain both their exceptional length and the almost total absence of conversation, as, in most cases, no answer is expected.

1 This clause in Nonnus, in fact, resembles Vergil's "Vix ea fatus erat" (five occurrences in the *Aeneid*).

In the first part of this book, I have tried to demonstrate how certain traditional elements of epic speech are incorporated in Nonnus' poetry, but only after having undergone a rhetorical transformation. Episodes like the Nonnian Διὸς ἀπάτη, in which he imitates his epic predecessors to such an extent that he copies and parodies entire conversations, allow us to compare equivalent speeches in Nonnus and his models. Not only does the comparison support the statistical observations on Nonnus' speeches, with entire Homeric conversations being thoroughly rewritten with longer speeches and fewer dialogues; it also shows the increased importance of rhetorical means of persuasion in these speeches. Far-fetched mythological arguments are widely elaborated upon but are not regarded as having an absolute truth-value, as they can easily be reversed to argue an entirely opposite case. Nonnus' engagement with Homer and Apollonius in this episode can be described as constantly challenging his audience's "epic" expectation patterns, both regarding the form, content and structure of the speeches and regarding the unexpected twists in the story line.

The imitation and transformation of specific episodes is, of course, only one aspect of Nonnus' engagement with the epic tradition. On a more abstract level, the recurring types of speech found in a battle narrative are also traditional epic components: defiant speeches challenging an opponent, triumphant speeches after the opponent's defeat or exhortations to the troops before launching a new attack. In my analysis of Nonnus' battle exhortations, I have put emphasis on the conventional elements in these speeches that are part of a larger tradition. Assuming a prior knowledge in his audience of what a battle exhortation traditionally looks like, Nonnus again plays on their expectations by inverting and parodying these traditional elements.

Less conspicuous, but perhaps even more important, are the differences regarding the position of the battle exhortations in Nonnus compared to that in Homer and Quintus. Battle exhortations in Nonnus no longer occur on the battle field, in the heat of battle, but have been moved to an earlier phase of the battle narrative before the fighting starts. This shift of position naturally implies a functional shift, which can be seen as characteristic of Nonnus' mode of storytelling. Often appearing in opposing pairs, the exhortations by the generals serve to introduce the major battles of the *Dionysiaca* as a whole—a practice strikingly similar to the use of battle exhortations in historiographical literature.

Finally, potential τις-speech could also be regarded as a traditionally epic feature, this time on formal grounds, although its only occurrence in epic poetry between Homer and Nonnus probably has to be explained in a context of direct imitation (see 3.1.2.1 on the one occurrence of potential τις-speech in

Apollonius), in which case the form also supports the parallels in content. As has been demonstrated in my analysis, Nonnus uses this Homeric device with the same range of argumentative functions as Homer. Important differences in comparison to Homer, however, lie in the extreme stylization of the τις-speeches and in the total lack of specificities regarding the identity of the anonymous speaker, which gives the potential comments in Nonnus a more absolute value. Both functionally and stylistically, the potential τις-speeches in Nonnus have, moreover, been given a counterpart in the alternative types of hypothetical speeches that also occur on a regular basis, and which in the case of the figure of procatalepsis draw not on the epic but on the rhetorical tradition.

These three features, I think, show very well the process that Pierre Chuvin described in his 2006 article "Nonnos de Panopolis et la 'déconstruction' de l'épopée", namely that of engaging with the genre conventions but meanwhile challenging them and moulding them to one's own will. Moreover, as I have demonstrated, in doing so Nonnus also introduces new typologies and patterns which shape and structure his conception of epic. One of the dangers, however, when looking at Nonnus' engagement with the epic tradition, is the self-evident focus on Homer. An intimate knowledge of Homer is a pre-requisite for understanding Nonnus—this the narrator of the *Dionysiaca* makes clear from the start—but by the constant and not so very subtle allusions, we are also constantly driven back to Homer as the ultimate point of reference for our interpretation. Throughout, the poem quite obstinately suggests a Homeric framework for its interpretation and in doing so blinds us to the more than 1,000 years that lie between Homer and Nonnus and the important literary developments that took place in this timespan. Is this a conscious rhetorical strategy? And does the omnipresence of Homer *mask* the renovation of the epic genre (as Laura Miguélez Cavero (2013b, 195) puts it in her article on the "rhetoric of novelty" in the *Dionysiaca*)? Or does it rather *highlight* the enormous differences between Nonnus and Homer?

Epic is not a monolithic genre, to be sure, and the reciprocity of influence between the rhetorical and epic traditions has to be taken into account in order to bring out important nuances in the idea of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* as a rhetorical transformation of epic. Much work remains to be done to put the observations on Nonnus into a broader context and also the parallel developments in the Latin epic tradition can, in my opinion, provide valuable insights.

In the second part of this book I have primarily focussed on the narrative function of speech in the presentation of the story. A recurring observation in my analysis was that the speeches in the *Dionysiaca* often have a pronouncedly different meaning for the speaking characters, for the characters addressed (if

there are any) and for the narratee (and ultimately the reader) of the poem, who, at times, is prompted by the narrator not to interpret the speeches at face value. Often, the ignorance of the characters creates an effect of dramatic irony. The introductory and capping lines of the speech provide the immediate interpretative context and were even in antiquity regarded as privileged places in a text where the author guides his reader on how to judge the words of the characters.

Striking examples are the many "deceptive" speeches in the *Dionysiaca*. When a speech is announced by the narrator as guileful, this does not necessarily mean that any lies will be told. It primarily seems to serve to draw attention to the manipulative argumentation and/or the clever construction of a suitable speaker's ἦθος by making use of a disguise.

Important with regard to the significance of the speeches for the reader's interpretation of the poem is also the large group of speeches pronounced by characters that do not really participate in the action, but only observe. Their speeches offer new perspectives on the events in the poem and invite the reader to reflect on his own interpretation. By juxtaposing different perspectives, Nonnus leaves room for multiple lines of interpretation. Simultaneously, the observing characters also play an important role in the visualization of the events in the poem. Their expressions of wonder and admiration bring the colourful world of the *Dionysiaca* vividly before the reader's eye.

In order to experience fully the suggestive force of these speeches, Nonnus' audience needed the cultural competence to connect the mythological figures mentioned with the iconographical tradition. His reader is expected to be a member of the educated elite, a πεπαιδευμένος, as already implied in the above-mentioned requirement of intimate knowledge of Homer. This does, however, not mean that the characters uttering these speeches also have to be regarded as role models exemplifying the ideal of παιδεία. The erudite humour, which can be found in many of Nonnus' speeches, generally operates on the level of the communication between narrator and narratee, author and audience, but often at the expense of the characters. The Beroe episode is a striking example of this feature. Whereas the communication between lover and beloved fails because of the latter's total ignorance and naivety, the episode can also be read as a stimulus to question Dionysus' merits as a πεπαιδευμένος and to enjoy the humorous account of his witty but inefficient courting strategies and poor judgement of character.

As a final point, I would like to return briefly to the long and ongoing discussion about the structural unity of the *Dionysiaca*. My analysis of the use and functions of direct speech has, I think, highlighted a couple of elements that can be taken into account for further discussion and basically support the

conclusion of Shorrock (2001, 22) that the *Dionysiaca* does not contain one but multiple intertwined lines of development which together warrant the poem's unity. The near-total absence of dialogue can be regarded as a sign that also in his use of direct speech, Nonnus has abandoned the more traditional ways of structuring his narrative. Interesting are the new and different means he uses to connect individual speeches and to structure episodes. I have frequently signalled the importance of speeches occurring in pairs or in series. They often seem to be used as connecting threads, either within one episode or connecting different episodes, through the constant reuse of certain themes and rhetorical patterns. Or, alternatively, as in the example of Aura cited above, the speech and the narrator text form a diptych, the one reflecting the other through allusions and intratextual echoes.

Appendix

Summary of the *Dionysiaca*

Books 1–8: A Lengthy Prequel to the Story of Dionysus

After a long and programmatic prologue, the story of the *Dionysiaca* commences at 1.45 with a muse invocation, bidding her to begin the narration with the wanderings of Cadmus, whose character will, in fact, serve as the connecting thread in the first eight books of the *Dionysiaca*. The real protagonist of the first two books, however, is Zeus, both in the Europa story and in the Typhonomachy.

As soon as Cadmus is introduced, the focus shifts to his sister Europa (1.46–137), who is at that time crossing the sea on the bull's back—a miraculous sight. In 1.138–140, we are told that Cadmus has reached Cilicia and again the focus shifts, this time to Typhon, who steals the weapons of Zeus and attacks heaven and earth from Cilicia (1.141–320). With both the Europa story and the story of the Typhonomachy left unfinished, a third reference to Cadmus at 1.321 is used to switch back to the story of Europa and Zeus (1.321–361), which is now completed. The remaining part of book 1 and book 2 complete the story of the Typhonomachy, in which, at least in the version chosen by Nonnus, Cadmus has an important role to play. Conspiring with Zeus and disguised as a shepherd, he distracts Typhon with his flute and recovers the divine weaponry (1.362–2.19). Deprived of his only advantage, Typhon, in book 2, is easily defeated by Zeus (2.20–631), who afterwards pronounces his thanks to Cadmus (2.663–698), promises him Harmonia in marriage and sends him to the oracle in Delphi.

From this point onwards, Cadmus becomes a true protagonist. Books 3 and 4 are entirely devoted to his adventures and only after his marriage to Harmonia in book 5 (5.88–189) does he step back from the spotlight. From 3.35 to 4.284, his adventures on Samothrace are narrated, where he is hospitably welcomed by Emathion and his mother Electra (3.184–372). Less favourable, however, is Harmonia's reaction when her foster mother Electra reveals Zeus' wish to give her in marriage to Cadmus (4.36–63). But Aphrodite intervenes with a ruse to persuade her (4.67–178). Eventually, they leave Samothrace together for Delphi (4.207–248), where Cadmus consults the oracle (4.293–306) and finds the cow he has to follow in order to found Thebes on the location where it decides to lie down and rest (4.311–349). Upon his arrival, he defeats the Ismenian dragon (356–420) and, following the instructions of Athena (4.393–405), sows its teeth, fights the Sparti and founds Thebes (4.421–5.87)

After the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia (5.88–189), the focus of the poem shifts from Cadmus to his children and grandchildren. The story of Actaeon, son of Cadmus' eldest daughter Autonoe and Aristaeus, is lengthily elaborated upon (5.287–551). Notwithstanding the fact that the story of his death is narrated in book 5, Actaeon

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reappears in book 13.53–82 to accompany Dionysus in the Indian War. It is unclear where to put the Actaeon myth in the chronology of Dionysus' adventures. Actaeon still participates in the funeral games of book 38, but when Dionysus arrives in Thebes in book 44, he has already died (44.283–45.3).

The story of Zeus and Semele is briefly announced in book five (5.562), but only to introduce—as a long *prolepsis*—the story of Zeus and Persephone (5.563–566.168). Their son Zagreus, the "first Dionysus", is attacked and killed by the Titans and by Hera (6.169–205). In reaction, an angry Zeus causes a deluge. To alleviate the suffering of men on earth after the floods, Zeus, finally, in the opening scene of book 7 (1–109), announces to Aeon ('father Time') the birth of Dionysus and his wine as a remedy. In 7.136, the story of Cadmus' children is eventually resumed, now with the focus on Semele. Book 7 (137–368) tells the story of Zeus' love for her; in book 8, the story continues with Semele's pregnancy (8.6–33), Hera's jealousy (8.34–285) and Semele's death by lightning and subsequent apotheosis (8.286–418).

Books 9–12: Dionysus' Childhood and Youth

Finally, after eight books (1/6th of the total), Dionysus is born (9.1–16). Hermes successively puts the baby under the care of the Lamides, the Naiad daughters of the local river god Lamus (25–54), Dionysus' aunt Ino (55–144) and his grandmother, the mother goddess Rhea (145–243). Only Rhea's protection proves sufficient to hold off a vengeful Hera. The story of Dionysus' youth, however, is soon interrupted by the narrator to elaborate on the story of Ino (9.243–10.138) and her husband Athamas, who in his madness kills his son Learchus and pursues his wife and baby son Melicertes.

The thread of the story of Dionysus is resumed in 10.139, which marks the beginning of the Ampelus episode (10.139–12.397). This episode recounts Dionysus' love for Ampelus, his childhood sweetheart, who will eventually die (11.113–223) and metamorphose into the first vine or ἄμπελος (12.173–206).

Books 13–24: The Expedition to India

In 13.1–34, Iris brings Zeus' message to Dionysus and Rhea ordering him to initiate a campaign against the Indians, a quest he has to fulfil in order to earn his place on Olympus. The start of the campaign is marked by an extensive catalogue of troops (13.43–14.227). The first encounter with a division of the Indian army takes place in Bithynia (14.247–15.168), where the transformation of Lake Astacus into wine and the resulting drunkenness of the Indian soldiers grant an easy victory to Dionysus.

The war narrative is, however, soon interrupted with the insertion of the bucolic story of Hymnus and Nicaea (15.169–422): an unhappy cowherd is deeply in love with a chaste huntress. When he desperately begs her to kill him if she cannot love him (15.316–362), she promptly shoots him. In book 16, Hymnus' death is avenged by Eros, who makes Dionysus fall in love with Nicaea. Nicaea rejects his love as well, but

unknowingly drinks from the wine in the lake and is raped by the god in her drunken sleep. The story ends with the birth of Dionysus' daughter Telete (initiation) and his foundation of the city Nicaea, named both after his daughter's mother and his first victory (νίκη) over the Indians (16.399–405).

The expedition continues in book 17. From Nicaea, the army travels to Alybe, where Dionysus is hospitably welcomed in the modest cave-house of Brongus (17.32–86). From there he enters the region of the Taurus Mountains, where the Bacchic army has its second encounter with the Indian troops, this time a more traditional battle. Orontes, the Indian general and son-in-law of king Deriades, audaciously approaches Dionysus for a duel, but a light blow of Dionysus' thyrsus is sufficient to break his spirit and leads to a pathetical suicide near the river which is afterwards named the Orontes (17.225–314).

Reminiscent of Brongus' modest but generous welcome is the equally hospitable but much more sumptuous welcome in the palace of king Staphylus in Assyria (18.1–313). In both cases Dionysus introduces the drinking of wine to his host. When Dionysus leaves Staphylus and his family the next morning to resume his campaign (18.313–333), the news of his host's premature death soon reaches him and forces an early return. Dionysus' gift of wine takes away the grief of Staphylus' widow and son (19.17–22), after which the entire family is immortalized (19.44–58) in the names for grape (βότρυς, after Botrys, the son), bunch of grapes (σταφυλή, after Staphylus) and drunkenness (μέθη, after Methe, the widow). Their trusted servant Pithus later (20.127–143) undergoes a full metamorphosis into the first wine-jar (πίθος). Book 19 also brings the first funeral games of the *Dionysiaca* (19.59–348), which, however, are not organized as an athletic competition but as a contest of lyric poetry and mimic dance.

The next episode brings Dionysus to Arabia, where the hostile reception by Lycurgus creates a sharp contrast to the earlier hospitable welcome in Assyria. The cruel Lycurgus is already mentioned as an enemy of Dionysus in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 6.130–140), but books 20–21 of the *Dionysiaca* give a more extensive treatment of the story. In the version of Nonnus, Dionysus is tricked by Iris (under orders from Hera) into approaching Lycurgus unarmed and unaccompanied by his army (20.261–303).

When he is attacked, he flees into the sea, but not just out of fear of Lycurgus, for he interprets the thunder struck by Hera (20.346–353) as a warning by Zeus. While Thetis and Nereus—again hospitably—welcome Dionysus in their house under the sea, Ambrosia, one of the Bacchantes accompanying Dionysus, is pursued by Lycurgus, but subsequently metamorphosed into a vine, after which she triumphantly captures her pursuer in her branches (21.1–169).

Book 21 also sees the introduction of Dionysus' chief opponent, when a Bacchic embassy finally reaches the Indian king Deriades. Dionysus' messenger delivers an ultimatum (21.231–239) but refusing to accept to worship the Olympian gods, Deriades declares war on Dionysus (21.241–273), which properly marks the start of the Indian

War. Books 22–24 present the final steps in the expedition to India: the arrival in the region and the crossing of the river Hydaspes—father of the Indian King. The battle at the riverside is probably the bloodiest episode of the *Dionysiaca* (22.136–23.116). Both this battle and the subsequent battle against the river itself (23.177–24.67) are modelled on the battle in and with the river Scamander in *Iliad* 21.

The first half of the *Dionysiaca*, however, ends on a peaceful note. When the Bacchic troops arrive on the east-side of the Hydaspes, the Indians have retreated into their city. A camp is set up, a feast prepared and an ἀοιδός tells a pleasant mythological story (24.237–329, reminiscent of *Od.* 8.266–366) before they all fall asleep (24.330–348).

Books 25–40.297: The War in India

The second half of the *Dionysiaca* starts with a second prologue, in which an ellipsis of six years' time is announced. In imitation of Homer, Nonnus decides only to recount the last year of battle (25.8–10). In a lengthy syncrisis (25.31–252), the narrator compares Dionysus with a number of other sons of Zeus, concluding that Dionysus is not only the most impressive hero but also the best subject for epic poetry. He ends this second prologue with an invocation to Homer (25.253–270), simultaneously disapproving of Homer's own choice of subject and asking Homer and the muses for inspiration.

In the second half of book 25, the war narrative is resumed, but battle is still far-off. There has been an armistice for more than 10 months (25.300–310). Dionysus and his troops are bored and an impatient Rhea sends Attis to Dionysus with a new shield, made by Hephaestus, to help put an end to the war. The description of the four tableaux on the shield (25.386–562: 1. Foundation of Thebes, 2. Abduction of Ganymedes, 3. Tylus' death and resurrection, 4. Birth of Zeus) further delays the actual battle narrative. The end of book 25 closely resembles that of book 24: night falls and the Bacchic army sleeps (25.568–572).

Neither in books 26 or 27 is any battle recounted. After a deceptive dream (Athena in the guise of the deceased Orontes, favouring Dionysus) exhorting him to battle (26.1–37), Deriades decides to send his heralds out to gather an army. This is remarkably late, after six years of battle, but the catalogue of troops which immediately follows (26.38–365) offers a clear structural parallel with the catalogues of the Bacchic troops in 13–14. For the third book in a row, book 26 ends at nightfall, but this time it is the Indian troops who are described asleep, foreshadowing the battles to come with their dreams of war (26.366–378). Book 27 is a book of battle exhortations. For the first time, not two, but three sides are distinguished: the camp of Deriades (exhortation 27.19–135), the camp of Dionysus (exhortation 27.167–220) and the divine camp on Olympus where Zeus recruits divine allies for his son (exhortation 27.252–300).

Finally, after three preparatory books, the reader's patience is rewarded in books 28–30 by the longest sequence of battles in the *Dionysiaca*. The only "lighter" episode in these battle books is the final scene of book 29 (323–381), in which Ares, who has

joined his mother Hera in helping the Indian cause, has a dream sent by Rhea. The dream exhorts him to pursue Aphrodite, who supposedly has left him to return to her former husband Hephaestus—a clear parody of the story of Ares' and Aphrodite's adultery (*Od.* 8.266–366)—and under these false pretences he is sent away from the battlefield.

With the Bacchic army gaining ground at the end of book 30, a new storyline is introduced in books 31–35, again with a clearly Homeric flavour. In order to favour the Indians, Hera in 31.4–29 conceives the plan of deceiving Zeus and lulling him to sleep with the help of Hypnus (31.103–198) and Aphrodite (31.199–132.9). The episode is evidently inspired on the famous Διὸς ἀπάτη episode of *Iliad* 14. In the *Dionysiaca*, Hera goes even further and also conspires with Persephone and Megaera to strike Dionysus down with madness (31.30–102). Although Zeus seems to see through Hera's ruse, he willingly allows himself to be seduced (and thus deceived) in 32.38–97. Consequently, after Dionysus has abandoned his troops in his madness (32.125–150), the Indian troops easily get the upper hand (32.151–299) and the ruse seems to have succeeded.

Nonnus, however, surpasses Homer by far in the complexity of his divine intrigue, for while Zeus is asleep, Nonnus' Aphrodite—who herself has helped Hera—contrives an equally complex counter-move. She is persuaded to take action by the tears of the Grace Pasithea, who fears for her father (!) Dionysus and his beautiful Bacchantes, who are being slaughtered. With the help of Eros, Aphrodite makes the Indian general Morrheus fall in love with the Bacchante Chalcomede in order to protect the Bacchantes in the absence of Dionysus. The story of Morrheus and Chalcomede (books 33–35) is the longest love story in the *Dionysiaca* and has its finale immediately before the finale of the Διὸς ἀπάτη (35.204–222: Morrheus is prevented by a snake from consummating his 'marriage' with Chalcomede), in which Zeus wakes up and forces Hera to heal Dionysus by nursing him with her divine milk (35.262–391).

The battle restarts in book 36 with perhaps the most varied battle book. The theomachy of *Iliad* 21 is imitated in 36.1–133 and after further bloodshed on both sides (161–290), there is a first direct confrontation between the two leaders (duel 291–393). Deriades is captured by Dionysus in the branches of a vine but given mercy. The book ends with the announcement of a final naumachy (399–421), the start of the seventh year of battle (422–423) and an Indian assembly convened by Morrheus, after which the two parties agree on a three months' truce (476–480).

This truce encompasses books 37 and 38. Book 37 reports of the second funeral games of the *Dionysiaca*. This time, they are organized as traditional athletic contests in honour of the deceased Opheltes, in close imitation of *Iliad* 23. In book 38, a solar eclipse is interpreted as a favourable omen for Dionysus and provides the occasion for Hermes to tell Dionysus the Phaethon-story (38.105–434).

At the beginning of book 39, the naval troops of Dionysus arrive. After both generals have addressed their soldiers in a last exhortation, the final battle begins. The

naumachy (39.218–407) ends with a clear advantage for the Bacchic troops and the cowardly flight of Deriades (39.402–407).

However, as soon as Deriades, at the start of book 40, has set foot on land, Athena awaits him in the guise of his son-in-law Morrheus. She persuades him to stand up to Dionysus (40.11–30 in imitation of *Iliad* 22.229–246). But as soon as he sees through Athena's disguise, he resumes his flight to the riverbanks of the Hydaspes. Dionysus follows him, a light scratch of whose thyrsus suffices to best him and cause him to fall headlong into the river (40.70–100). The death of the Indian king is followed by the laments of his wife and daughters (40.101–214) and the celebration of victory among Dionysus' troops (40.215–250), after which they prepare to depart from India (40.251–297).

Books 40.298–248: The Way Back Home

The first stop on Dionysus' travels after the war treated in the *Dionysiaca* is his visit to his ancestral city Tyre (40.298–580), the birthplace of his grandfather Cadmus. He admires the city and landscape (40.298–356) and has an encounter with the founding deity of the city, Heracles Astrochiton, who offers him ambrosia and nectar (40.366–580) and relates to him the city's foundation myth. From Tyre, he continues his travels along the Assyrian coast to Beirut, which is the scene for books 41–43.

The start of the Beirut (= Beroe) episode (41.1–262) is similar to the episode in Tyre. The city is described in all its glory and there is plenty of attention to local mythology, this time not narrated by the founding deity of the city but by the main narrator. A more important difference, however, is the role Dionysus will play in this story. After the story of Aphrodite's birth (41.97–128), the story of the birth of her daughter Beroe is told (41.155–262). She, by the time Dionysus arrives in Beirut, has become an attractive young girl. Aphrodite wants to secure her daughter's future (41.263–427) and with the help of Eros causes both Poseidon and Dionysus to fall in love with her.

Book 42, consequently, is an amorous episode in which both lovers try to win the hand of the reluctant Beroe—without success. As her daughter will not decide for herself, Aphrodite decides to arrange a competition for her. Consequently, in book 43 the battle for Beroe's hand is fought out between Dionysus, Poseidon and their respective troops, until Zeus (42.372–384) comes to a decision himself and forces Dionysus to give the victory to Poseidon. At the end of book 43, as the wedding is being celebrated, Dionysus, is consoled by Eros, who foretells him his future loves (thus announcing the amorous episodes of books 47 and 48).

After Beirut, Dionysus heads for his second ancestral city, Thebes, which is the setting of the Pentheus myth. Nonnus' version of the story, most famously told in Euripides' *Bacchae*, encompasses three books (44–46), which together form a clear unit within the larger structure of the *Dionysiaca*. The plot is roughly that of Euripides.

After these two longer episodes, each encompassing three books, six shorter episodes swiftly follow each other in the last two books of the *Dionysiaca*. In book 47 Dionysus arrives in Athens, where he introduces wine and viticulture to Icarius (47.34–69), after which Icarius distributes wine to his fellow farmers and is killed in a drunken rage (47.70–147). His ghost tells his daughter Erigone what has happened. She finds his body, buries her father and then commits suicide (47.148–245).

Dionysus, meanwhile, travels to Naxos, where he finds Ariadne abandoned by Theseus and makes her his wife (47.265–471). Later, they travel to Argos where Perseus rules. Instigated by Hera, Perseus attacks Dionysus and petrifies Ariadne, after which Hermes, acting on orders of Zeus, has to intervene to stop the enraged Dionysus from destroying Argos (47.472–741).

The final book 48 contains a battle narrative, in which Dionysus stands up against the giants roused by Gaia to attack him (48.4–90), and two more amorous episodes (Pallene 48.90–237 and Aura 48.237–968). As a "champion of justice" (48.98), Dionysus frees Pallene from her father's grip by defeating her in a wrestling match, thus winning her hand in marriage. However, he soon leaves his bride (48.237) to travel to Phrygia, where Aura, a companion to Artemis, falls from this goddess's grace when she questions Artemis' chastity.

The punishment for Aura—just as in the case of Nicaea—is Dionysus' love. This second chaste huntress also drinks unknowingly from Dionysus' wine, is also raped in her sleep and also wakes up pregnant. Aura, however, surpasses Nicaea in her anger and, as was predicted by Dionysus, kills one of her twin sons, before committing suicide herself. The second son, Iacchus, is saved and becomes the third Dionysus, thus paving the way for his father's apotheosis, which takes place only in the five final lines of the *Dionysiaca* (48.974–978).

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General Index

This general index provides a by no means exhaustive overview of the main topics discussed in this book. It hopes to be a useful addition to the table of contents.

Achilles Tatius 6, 22, 236–237, 283, 290
Alexandrian footnote 60n24, 161
Antithesis 22, 75–79, 142–143, 165, 172, 265, 272
Anonymous speakers (actual τις-speech) 145, 222–228, 235–248, 256n67
Argument function/key function 190–194, 199, 216
Apollonius
- As a model 5n21, 44–48, 63–75, 234–235, 264
- Introduction formulas 35, 183n2
- Potential τις-speech 153
- Scholarship on speech 20

Audience 2, 8–9, 32, 62, 83, 101, 167, 261

Battle-exhortations 82–138, 156, 185–186
- Inverse exhortations 98, 124–132

Callimachus 160–162, 200, 220
Characterization through speech 19, 71–73, 94, 101, 119, 123–124, 127, 138, 162n45, 223, 231, 272–273
Claudian 9, 18n58, 21n74
Colluthus 18n59, 183n2

Dialogue 21–22, 26–29, 44–62, 227–228, 230
Disguise 56–61, 96–99, 125–128, 186–187, 201–203, 212, 280
Dramatic Irony 34, 162, 194, 242, 289–291, 293–294, 298

Ἐνάργεια 259
Epigrams 25, 135, 143, 163–165, 188, 229n17
- Oral epitaphs 163–164
- Actual epitaphs/potential epitaphs 164n49

ἐπιπώλησις 89
Euripides 119–124

Homer
- Anonymous speakers (actual τις-speech) 145
- As a model 4–6, 43–62, 97–98, 130–134, 151–153, 208, 297
- Battle exhortations 84–109
- Divine/human plot 234
- Introduction formulas 182
- Potential τις-speech 143–159
- Scholarship on speech 18–19

Heroic code 109

Indirect speech 24, 146–148, 173

Libanius 75–79
Lucan 18n58, 94–95, 138

Moschus 239
Menander Rhetor 12, 37, 83, 99
Metalepsis 162

Perspective 34, 68–69, 75–79, 218, 227, 233, 273
- Bird's eye perspective 262–272

Personifications 188, 190–194, 198, 199–204, 207–208, 217–218, 229n17, 277n8
Pindar 7
Partiality of the narrator 6, 109
Ποικιλία 4n15, 7, 13, 32, 73, 295

Quintus
- As a model 44, 74–75
- Battle exhortations 84–99
- Scholarship on speech 20
- Text-internal observers 234–235

Rhetoric
- Rhetoric as entertainment 62
- Rhetorical education
  - Ancient theorists 38
  - Homer, father of rhetoric 37, 138, 221
  - Influence on poetry 37
  - Progymnasmata 8, 21–23, 37, 68n42, 221
  - Eidolopoeae 77, 176
  - Ethopoeae 22–23, 74–79, 195, 221–273

Procatalepsis 23–24, 56, 172–174, 287, 297
Disputare in utramque partem 68
Rhetorical means of (manipulative)
Persuasion 50–69, 181–220
Heads of purpose 86–87, 102–109
Captatio benevolentiae 210, 287
Conventions of amatory rhetoric 280–291
Comparative arguments 193–194, 207, 211
Ἦθος 50, 56–61, 80, 194–199, 216
(False) πάθος 50, 54n18, 80, 196, 263
Rewards 56–61, 66–67

Soliloquies 22, 71–80, 221–273, 275–276, 294
Speech formulas 35
Introductory formulas 35–36, 141, 176, 228–229, 262, 265–270
Indicating deceit 50, 67, 181–220, 289
Capping formulas 35–36, 183n5, 228–229, 289, 295
Speech in speech 34, 78
"Real" speech 139–140
Hypothetical speech 139–177, 263, 265
Potential τις-speech 105, 139–167, 177, 207, 216, 226n14
Speech in speech in speech 174
Speech length 25, 45, 71, 89, 92–94, 101
Speech mention 19n67, 24, 159
Speech types 82–83
Structure of the *Dionysiaca*
Coördination of multiple structures 14–15, 299
Encomiastic 12
Epyllia 14
Novelistic 12–13
Pairs and series of speeches 81, 69, 72–73, 90–95, 100–101, 128, 133–136, 138, 299
Thematic 14, 73, 79
Unfinished 10–12

Telling names 73, 212, 248n49, 293
Text-internal observers 224, 232–235
θαῦμα 243, 259, 268
Thucydides 85–87, 93–95

Variatio 69, 73, 80, 89n21, 138, 290
Visual arts 198, 200–202, 207–208, 218, 224n10, 252–254, 256–262
Voyeuristic gaze 244, 247–248, 260–261, 279, 284

Writing 164n48

Index Locorum

Especially for Nonnus and Homer, the entries in this index are strictly limited to those passages that are discussed in this book and not merely listed as a reference.

Ach. Tat.
1.1 236–237
1.17–19 283

Apht.
Prog.
5.2 68n42
11.1–2 77, 229n17

Ap. Rhod.
Argon.
3.6–298 44
3.52–110 46, 63–69
3.464–801 69–73
3.793–797 153
3.932–937 234
4.57–65 234, 264

Arist.
Poet.
1448a 16n53
1448b 259n73
1451a 6
1460a 16, 221n2
Rhet.
1355a 68n41
1377b 195

Callim.
Hymns
1.65 220
2.105–113 200n37
4.78 160n40

Eunap.
Vita Soph.
10.7.12 3n13

Eur.
Bacchae
215–262 121
IA
1171–1179 170
IT
267–274 256

Hom.
Il.
1.194–201 97
2.23–34 98, 128–130
2.110–141 132
3.353–354 91
4.73–219 132–134
5.826–834 97
6.459–463 152, 165
14.153–351 43
14.190–221 46, 48–55, 208
14.224–291 47, 55–62, 208
14.298–345 47
20.354–372 93
22.229–246 97–98, 127–128, 186
Od.
6.148 36
6.275–285 153
19.121–122 148
23.135–136 148

Hom. Hymns
5.91–106 256

Hom. Scholia
Scholia Vetera on *Il.*
6.460 163n46
7.89–90 163n46
14.231 208n52
22.106–108 166n56
Scholia HPQ on *Od.*
6.148 36

Lib.
Prog.
11.12–13 75–79

Longus
D&C
1.13 289
3.14 289

Luc.
1.299–351 94–95
2.531–595 94–95

Lucian
De Domo
1–2 257
Dial. marini
15 237n34

Nonnus
D.
1.15 7
1.46–137 171, 236–242
1.326–343 168–169, 262–264
1.385–387 159–163, 166n55
2.209–236 194–199
2.258–355 95, 109–117
2.565–630 117
4.77–176 248–250
4.216–225 171, 264–266
4.238–246 242–244
7.219–265 244–248
7.360–361 146
8.50–263 49, 146, 157, 199–219
8.277–278 159n37
9.208–242 266–268
10.129–136 268–270
10.175–216 250–253
11.7–42 168–170
11.118–154 190–194
11.316–324 175
15.169–16.405 275–276
15.210–286 167
16.224–225 171
16.363–364 176
18.217–305 99–100
18.317–319 171
20.196–221 125
20.226–288 125–128
20.365–368 158
21.39–40 147
21.135–146 95, 117–119
22.387–389 5n21
23.231–233 159–163
25.27 4, 37
25.257–260 5n20
27.22–220 90, 174
28.147–149 147
29.39–67 100, 132–137
29.42–44 165
29.304–310 96
29.328–361 99, 128–132
31.24–35.262 43–44, 63
31.103–198 47, 55–62, 195
31.212–32.8 46, 48–55
32.42–75 47
33.4–194 44, 63–69
33.180–35.222 69–73, 276
33.333 159n37
35.21–78 44, 74–75, 176
35.164–183 270–271
35.344–36.160 90–91
38.209 174
39.33–122 91
39.142–148 157
40.153–157 152
40.545–546 174
42.17–496 5n19, 156, 169, 277–291
43.70–191 91–92
44.134–183 95–96, 119–123
45.92–93 174
45.170–171 174
45.220–227 95–96, 123–124
47.272–294 253–256
47.433–434 174
47.451–452 159n37
48.392–448 49
48.474–651 171, 175, 188, 276
48.741–748 149
48.802–803 171
48.892–908 159–163, 292–295

Par.
5.163–168 141–143
12.42–47 150

Philostr.
Imag.
1.1 257
1.15 253–255, 258

Pind.
Ol.
6.87 7
Pyth.
4.87–92 256

Pl.
Resp.
394b–c 16n52

Plut.
Mor.
18f–19e 36n92

Porph.
Quaest. Hom.
1.86–87 36n92

Ps.-Hermog.
Prog.
9.3 226
9.4 230
9.6 232
10.1 224

Quint. Smyrn.
1.622–830 44, 74–79
9.283 159n37

Soph.
Aj.
500–505 153

Theon
Prog.
60.22–29 221
116–117 86n15
115.22–30 230

Triph.
120–151 84, 87n16